

F. Gravelot inv. sculp.

*The AMBASSADORS of ANTIOCHUS
sent to SCIPIO . AFRICANUS with his
SON, without Ransom.*

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION OF ROME

TO THE
BATTLE OF ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

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Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and
Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles
Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

V O L. VII.

The SECOND EDITION.

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 THE
 ROMAN HISTORY.

THIS book contains about the space of six years, from the 555th to the 561st of Rome. It principally treats of the war with Nabis tyrant of Sparta; the care of Quintius in regulating the affairs of Greece, the war with the Gauls, the military exploits of Cato in Spain, the dispute excited at Rome upon the occasion of the law *Oppia*, and the preparations and beginnings of the war with Antiochus.

S E C T. I.

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VALERIUS, PORCIUS, Consuls.

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A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.
Upon the
report of
the ten
commis-
sioners, re-
turned
from Greece.
concerning
Nabis, the
Senate
leaves
Quintius
at liberty
to act as
he shall
judge ex-
pedient.
Liv. xxxiii
44, 45.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

THE war with Nabis may be considered as a sequel of that with Philip, which had just before been terminated. I place it here, to avoid breaking in upon what relates to Quintius.

The ten commissioners, who had been sent into Greece, being returned to Rome, gave an account to the Senate of what concerned the peace concluded with Philip. After which they informed the Senate, " that they were upon the point of
" hav-



VALERIUS, PORCIUS, Consuls,

3

“ having another no less important war to sustain A. R. 552.
 “ against Antiochus King of Syria ; and that the Ant. C. 1954
 “ Ætolians, a restless people, full of ill-will to
 “ the Romans, were inclined to take arms against
 “ them, and to join Antiochus.” I shall defer
 speaking of the circumstances that induced this
 war, for the sake of throwing all the events that
 relate to it together, and shewing them in one
 point of view. The commissioners added,
 “ That Greece nurtured a dangerous enemy in
 “ her own bosom in the person of Nabis, then
 “ tyrant of Sparta ; and who would soon become
 “ so of all Greece, if he could ; a tyrant, infa-
 “ mous for his avarice and cruelty, and who
 “ equalled all that antient times had ever seen of
 “ most horrid in that kind.” After having long
 discussed, whether there was sufficient foundation
 for immediately declaring war against him, or
 whether they should content themselves to leave
 Quintius at liberty to act, in that respect, as he
 should judge most expedient for the good of the
 Commonwealth ; the latter was resolved, and the
 whole was referred to his discretion.

All the People of Greece enjoyed in perfect tran- The war
 quillity the blessings of peace and liberty, and in with Na-
 that state no less admired the temperance, justice, bis is re-
 and moderation of the Roman victor, than they solved in
 had before admired his valour and intrepidity in the assem-
 war. Things were in this situation, when Quin- bly of the
 tius received the decree from Rome, by which he allies sum-
 was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon moned at
 this, he called an assembly of the allies at Corinth, Corinth by
 and after having explained to them the matter in Quintus.
 question : *You see, said he, that the business of the* Liv. xxxiv
present deliberation regards only you. The question is 22—24.
to resolve whether Argos, a city equally antient and
illustrious, shall enjoy its liberty like the other cities,
or whether we shall leave it in the hands of the tyrant

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

of Sparta, who has possessed himself of it. The Romans have no interest in this affair, except that the slavery of a single city might deprive them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece from bondage. You have therefore to deliberate upon what is to be done: and your resolutions shall determine my conduct.

The opinions of the assembly were not dubious. The Ætolians only could not forbear venting their discontent against the Romans, and went so far as to tax them with breach of faith, because they retained Chalcis and Demetrias, at the very time they boasted of having given liberty to all Greece. They were no less warm against all the rest of the allies, especially the Athenians, whom they reproached with having become, from the zealous defenders of liberty which they antiently were, the abject flatterers of the Roman power. The allies, exasperated at such discourse, demanded that they might also be delivered from the robberies of the Ætolians, who were Greeks only by the language, but true Barbarians by their manners and disposition. As the dispute grew warm, Quintius obliged them to confine themselves solely to the affair proposed; and it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis tyrant of Sparta, if he refused to restore Argos to its antient liberty; and each promised to send speedy aids; which was faithfully executed.

Aristenes, General of the Achæans, joined Quintius near * Clæonæ, with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. Philip, on his side, sent fifteen hundred foot, and the Thessalonians four hundred horse. Quintius's brother arrived also with a fleet of forty galleys, which were joined by those of the Rhodians and King Eumenes. A

* *A city of Argolis in Peloponnesus.*

great number of Lacedæmonian exiles repaired to the camp of the Romans, in hopes of recovering their country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta appertained by right. Whilst he was an infant he had been expelled by the tyrant Lycurgus after the death of Cleomenes.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

Their first design was to open the campaign by the siege of Argos: but Quintius thought it more expedient to march directly against the tyrant. The latter had taken care to fortify Sparta well, having surrounded it with a fossé, palisade, and rampart; and he had caused a thousand chosen troops to be brought from Crete, which he added to a thousand more before in his service. He had besides these three thousand strangers in his pay, and ten thousand troops of the country, without including the Helots.

Quintius approaches Sparta, with design to besiege it.
Liv. xxxiv 26—29.

Nabis at the same time took measures to secure himself against intestine commotions. Having caused the People to assemble without arms, and having posted his armed guards around the place, he declared, “ that the present conjuncture obliging him to use extraordinary precautions for his own safety, he was going to seize and confine a certain number of citizens. That he chose rather to prevent those, whom he suspected, from betraying him, than to punish their treason. That when he should have repulsed the enemy without, from whom he had not much to fear, if things were quiet within, he would release those prisoners.” He nominated about fourscore of the principal youth of Sparta, confined them in a secure place, and the next night caused them all to be butchered. He also caused abundance of the Helots to be put to death in the villages, who were suspected of inclining to go over to the enemy. Having thus spread terror

A. R. 557.
Ann.C. 195.

on all sides, he prepared for a vigorous defence, being fully determined not to quit the city in the present emotion it was in; and not to hazard a battle with troops much superior to his in number.

Quintius having advanced as far as the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was intrenching his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect this sally, hitherto not having been opposed in their march, they were at first put into some disorder : but, sustained by the aid that arrived immediately, they soon reinstated themselves, and repulsed the enemy quite into the city.

The next day, Quintius having marched his troops in order of battle along the river and city, when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis made his foreign troops charge it. The Romans then faced about, and the action became very rude on both sides : but at length the foreigners were broke, and put to flight. The Achæans, who knew the country, pursued them vigorously, and made a great slaughter. Quintius incamped near Amyclæ, and after having ravaged all the fine country around the city, he returned to incamp on the banks of the Eurotas, and from thence ruined the valleys at the bottom of mount Taygetus, and the country near the sea.

Gythium
taken by
the brother
of Quintus.
Liv. xxiv
20.

At the same time, the Proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, formed the siege of * Gythium, at that time a very strong and important place. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians arrived very happily ; for the besieged defended themselves with great bravery. The Proconsul also marched thither at the head of four

* This city was the port of the Lacedæmonians.

thousand men. At length, after a long and vi-
gorous resistance, the place surrendered.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

The taking of Gythium alarmed the tyrant. He sent an herald to Quintius to demand an interview, which was granted. “ Besides many
“ other reasons, which Nabis urged in his fa-
“ vour, he insisted strongly upon the almost
“ recent alliance, which the Romans, and Quin-
“ tius himself, had made with him in the war a-
“ gainst Philip : an alliance, upon which he re-
“ lied the more, as the Romans declared them-
“ selves faithful and religious observers of treaties,
“ which, they boasted, they never infringed.
“ That on his side, there had nothing been
“ changed since the treaty : that he was the same
“ he had always been before, and that he had
“ given the Romans no cause of complaint and
“ reproach.” This reasoning was conclusive ;
and to speak truth, Quintius had nothing solid to
object to it. Accordingly, in his answer, he only
expatiated in loose indefinite complaints, and re-
proached him with his avarice, cruelty, and ty-
ranny. But was he less avaricious, cruel, and ty-
rannical, at the time of making the treaty ? No-
thing was concluded in this first interview.

*Interview
of Nabis
and Quin-
tius.
Liv. xxxiv.
30—32.*

The next day, Nabis agreed to evacuate the
city of Argos, as the Romans insisted upon it ;
and also to deliver up the prisoners and deserters
to them. He desired Quintius, if he had any
other demands to make, that he would reduce
them to writing, in order that he might deliberate
upon them with his friends. Quintius having a-
greed to that, held a council with the allies.
“ Most of them were for continuing the war with
“ Nabis, which could not be gloriously termi-
“ nated, without extirpating the tyrant, or at
“ least the tyranny : that otherwise it could not be
“ said, that liberty had been restored to Greece.

*Quintius
brings over
the allies
into his
opinion,
which was
to grant
Nabis
peace.
Liv. xxxiv
33, 34.*

A. R. 667. " That the Romans could make no agreement
 Ant. C. 195: " with Nabis, without solemnly acknowledging
 " him, and authorizing his usurpation." Quinti-
 tius was inclined to peace. " He apprehended;
 " that the war with Sparta might be spun out in
 " length. That during that time the war with
 " Antiochus might break out on a sudden, in
 " which case, the whole forces both of the Ro-
 " mans and allies would be necessary for opposing
 " so powerful an enemy." These were the rea-
 sons he alledged to determine them to an accom-
 modation. Perhaps private motives united with
 those of the public. He apprehended, that a new
 Consul might have Greece for his province, and
 come to deprive him of the glory of terminating
 an enterprize, he had so far advanced, by a com-
 plet victory.

Seeing that his reasons made little impression
 upon the allies, he seemed to give into their opi-
 nion, and thereby brought them all over to his
 own. *Well then, said he, let us besiege Sparta, as
 you judge it proper, and let us spare nothing that may
 conduce to the success of our enterprize. As you know,
 that sieges frequently take up more time than one
 would desire, let us make dispositions for taking up
 our winter-quarters, if it be necessary: this resolution
 is worthy your valour. I have a sufficient number of
 troops for the success of the siege: but the greater
 their number, the more occasion we shall have for
 provisions and convoys. The winter, which ap-
 proaches, shews us nothing but a naked country, and
 leaves us without forage. You see of what extent the
 city is, and consequently how many rams, catapultæ,
 and other machines of all kinds will be wanting. Let
 each write to his city, in order that they may supply
 us abundantly, and soon, with all that is necessary.
 It is for our honour to push the siege vigorously, and
 it will be shameful, after having undertaken, to be
 obliged*

obliged to quit it. Each then reflecting upon the A. R. 557.
proposal, made to them, discerned abundance of Ant. C. 195.
difficulties, which they had not foreseen, and perceived how ill the proposal they were going to make to their cities, would be received, when private persons should see themselves obliged to contribute to the expences of the war. Accordingly, immediately changing opinion, they left it to the Roman General to act as he should think most for the good of his own Commonwealth, and that of the allies.

Quintius then having held a council, to which *Conditions*
he called only the principal officers of the army, *of peace*
settled with them the conditions of peace, that *proposed to*
might be offered the tyrant. The principal were : *Nabis.*
“ That in less than ten days he should evacuate *Liv. xxxiv.*
“ Argos, and all the other cities in Argolis, where *35.*
“ he had garrisons. That he should restore to
“ the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken
“ from them, and should retain only two barks of
“ sixteen oars for himself. That he should restore
“ to the cities in alliance with the Roman People
“ all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves. That
“ he should also restore to the banished Lacedæ-
“ monians their wives and children, who should
“ be willing to follow them; however, without
“ compelling them to do so. That he should give
“ five hostages, such as the Roman General
“ should chuse, of which number his son should
“ be one. That he should actually pay an hun-
“ dred talents, (an hundred thousand crowns)
“ and afterwards fifty annually during eight years.
“ That a truce of six months should be granted
“ him, that each side might send to Rome, and
“ the treaty be ratified there.”

None of these articles pleased the tyrant, but he was surprized, and thought himself fortunate, that they had not mentioned the return of the ex-
iles.

A. R. 557.
A. M. C. 195.

iles. This treaty, when the particulars of it were made known in the city, occasioned universal disgust. Those who had married the wives of the exiles, slaves made free by the tyrant, and the soldiers themselves loudly murmured against them. Accordingly peace was no longer talked of, and the war was begun again.

*The inter-
view be-
ing b. n
in F. C. ual,
Quintius
names
the siege of
Sparta
with a
ger.*

Quintius then intended to push the siege vigorously, and began by examining the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had long been without walls, and would have no other fortification but the valour of her citizens. * It was only since tyrants had ruled there, that walls had been built; and that only in places which were open and of easy access: all the rest was defended by its natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted there. As Quintius's army was very numerous (it amounted to above fifty thousand men, because he had drawn together all the troops both of sea and land) he resolved to extend his forces around the city, and to attack it at the same time on all sides, in order to spread terror, and to make the besieged incapable of looking about them. Accordingly, the attack being made the same instant on all sides, and the danger being the same every where, the tyrant neither knew what choice to make, what orders to give, nor whither to send succours, and was quite out of his wits.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attack of the besiegers, who had entered the city, for some time, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow ways. Their darts and javelins however had little effect,

* It was a little more than an hundred years since Sparta had been fortified with walls, first when Cassander, one of Alexander's successors, attacked several cities of Greece; and afterwards when it was attacked by Demetrius, and then by Pyrrhus. And lastly, Nabis had added new fortifications to it. Justin. Pausan.

because being in very close order, they had not room to discharge them with vigour. The Romans continually gaining ground, on a sudden found themselves overwhelmed with stones and tiles, discharged upon them from the tops of the houses. But having placed their bucklers upon their heads they advanced in that manner, called *the Tortoise*, and neither darts nor tiles could hurt them in the least. When they arrived in the broader streets, the Lacedæmonians not being able to sustain their charge, nor stand before them, fled, and retired to the highest and steepest places. Nabis, believing the city taken, sought in great perplexity how, and on what side, he might escape. Pythagoras, one of the principal Officers of his army, saved the city. He caused the buildings nearest the walls to be set on fire. The houses were presently in a blaze: the flames gained ground every moment, and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy, by blinding and rendering them incapable of acting. The Romans were overwhelmed, not only with a shower of tiles and stones, but with the fall of burning planks and beams, which separated every moment. For which reason those who were still without the city, and were preparing to enter it, removed immediately from the walls; and those who had entered first, apprehending, lest the flames they saw behind them should close up all ways out, retired as soon as possible. Quintius, in this unexpected disorder, caused the retreat to be sounded, and after having seen himself in a manner master of the place, was reduced to lead back his troops into the camp.

The three following days, he took advantage of the terror he had spread throughout the city, sometimes by making new attacks, and sometimes by closing up different places, to prevent the besieged

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

A. R. 557.
Ant C. 195.
Nabis juo-
mits.
Peace is
granted
him.
Liv. xxxiv
40.

sieged of all issues and hopes of escaping. Nabis seeing himself without resource, sent Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Proconsul at first refused to hear him, and ordered him to quit the camp. But the suppliant falling upon his knees, and referring the fate of Nabis to the discretion of the Romans, at length obtained a truce for his master upon the same terms, as had been before prescribed him. The money was paid down directly, and the hostages put into Quintius's hands.

Argos re-
covers its
liberty
Quintius
presides
there at
the Neme-
an games.
Ibid.

During all these movements, the Argives, who upon the advices they had received from time to time, already concluded, that Sparta was taken, re-established their liberty themselves, and drove out their garrison. Quintius, after having granted Nabis peace, and taken leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians and his brother, who returned to their fleets, repaired to Argos, which he found in incredible transports of joy. The celebration of the Nemæan games, which could not be performed at the customary time on account of the troubles occasioned by the war, had been deferred till the arrival of the Roman General and his army. It was he, as we have related above, who did the honours, and distributed the prizes of them; or rather was himself the Shew. The Argives particularly could not take their eyes off him, who had undertaken this war expressly for them, who had delivered them from a cruel and shameful slavery, and just before reinstated them in their antient liberty, the sweets of which they tasted with a more lively sense, as they had long been deprived of it.

Discontent
of the al-
liances re-
spect to the
new con-
tract
with Na-
bis.
Ibid.

The Achæans saw with sensible pleasure the city of Argos reunited with their league, and restored to all its antient privileges. But a tyrant supported in the middle of Greece, and slavery, tho' in

in a manner retrenched in Lacedæmon, from whence it was always in a condition to make itself feared, left a disquiet in the minds of men, that abated the common joy.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

As to the Ætolians, it may be said, that the peace granted Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful treaty, for so they called it, they exclaimed against the Romans every where. They observed, that in the war with Philip, they had not laid down their arms, nor desisted from pursuing that Prince with the utmost vigour, till they had obliged him to abandon all the cities of Greece. That upon this occasion the tyrant was suffered to retain the peaceable possession of Sparta, whilst the lawful King (they meant Agesipolis) who had served under the Proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the rest of their lives in miserable banishment. In a word, that the Roman People had made themselves the guards and protectors of the tyrant.

The Ætolians in these complaints, which were not without foundation, confined themselves to the advantages of liberty only: but in great affairs, every thing is to be considered, and persons must be contented with what can be executed with success, without taking in all things at once. And this was Quintius's disposition, as we shall see from his own conduct in the sequel.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out for this war with Sparta. We have related before, at the end of the preceding volume, that he passed the whole winter in rendering justice to the States, in reconciling the cities to each other, in appeasing enmity between principal citizens, and in re-establishing good order every where, which were the true fruits of peace, the most glorious of employments for the victor.

Quintius, during the winter, regulates the affairs of Greece.
Liv. xxxiv 48.
Plut. in Quint. 375.

A. R. 557. victor, and a certain proof, that the war had been
 Ant. C. 195. undertaken only from just and reasonable motives.

*Fine speech
 of Quintus
 in the
 assembly of
 the allies
 at Corinth.*

Liv. xxxiv
 48—50.

In the beginning of the spring, Quintius repaired to Corinth, where he had called a general assembly of all the cities. He represented in it, that Rome had complied with joy and passion with the intreaties of Greece which had implored her aid, and had made an alliance with her, of which he hoped there was no reason to repent. He ran over in few words the actions and enterprizes of the Roman Generals, who had preceded him, and repeated his own with a modesty, that much exalted their merit. He was heard with general applause, except when he came to speak of Nabis, on which the assembly, by a gentle murmur, expressed their surprize and grief, that the deliverer of Greece had left in the bosom of so illustrious a city as Sparta a tyrant, not only insupportable to his country, but formidable to all the other cities and states.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the people's disposition in regard to him upon that head, thought it incumbent upon him to give an account of his conduct in few words. “ He owned
 “ that no conditions were to be hearkened to with
 “ the tyrant, if that could have been done without
 “ hazarding the entire ruin of Sparta. But, there
 “ being room to fear, that the ruin of Nabis
 “ might be attended with that of so considerable
 “ a city, it had seemed more prudent to leave
 “ the tyrant weakened, and not in a condition to
 “ hurt, than to hazard perhaps seeing the city de-
 “ stroyed by too violent remedies, and the very
 “ endeavours employed to save it.

He added to what he had said of the past,
 “ that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and
 “ to carry back the whole army. That in less
 “ than

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

“ than ten days they would hear, that the garri-
 “ sons of Demetrius and Chalcis were withdrawn;
 “ and that he was going before their eyes to give
 “ up the citadel of Corinth to the Achæans. That
 “ they would thereby see which were most worthy
 “ of faith, the Romans or the Ætolians; and
 “ whether the latter had reason for spreading a-
 “ broad, that the Greeks could not do worse than
 “ to confide their liberty to the Roman People,
 “ and that they had only changed the yoke by
 “ receiving the Romans for masters, instead of
 “ the Macedonians. But that it was well known,
 “ the Ætolians did not pique themselves upon
 “ prudence or discretion either in their actions or
 “ discourse.

“ That as to what regarded the other states, he
 “ recommended it to them to judge of their
 “ friends by actions, and not words; and to di-
 “ stinguish aright between those they ought to
 “ trust, and those against whom they ought to be
 “ upon their guard. He exhorted them to make
 “ a moderate use of their liberty; in representing
 “ to them, That kept within due bounds, it was
 “ salutary to private persons as well as cities: that,
 “ without such moderation, it became injurious to
 “ others, and pernicious to those who abused it.
 “ That the principal persons of the cities, the dif-
 “ ferent orders of which they are composed, and
 “ the cities themselves in general should make it
 “ their care to preserve a perfect union between
 “ them. That as long as they should continue
 “ united, neither King nor tyrant could do any
 “ thing against them. That discord and sedition
 “ would open a way for all kinds of danger and
 “ calamity, because the party which should find
 “ itself weakest within, would seek support with-
 “ out, and chuse rather to call in strangers to their
 “ aid, than to give way to their fellow-citizens.

“ He

A. R. 557.
Ant.C. 195. “ He concluded his discourse, by conjuring
 “ them with goodness and tenderness to maintain
 “ and preserve by their wise conduct the liberty,
 “ for which they were indebted to foreign arms;
 “ and to convince the Roman People, that in
 “ making them free, they had not placed their
 “ protection and services amiss.”

This advice was received as that of a father. On hearing him speak in this manner, they all wept with joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of the whole assembly. They looked upon one another, full of admiration of what they had just heard, and exhorted each other to retain deep in their memories and hearts counsels, which they ought to revere as oracles.

The Roman slaves dispersed throughout Greece are restored to Quintius.
 Ibid.

Quintius then having caused silence to be made, desired them to make an exact enquiry after such Roman citizens as might remain slaves in Greece, and to send them to him in Thessaly in the space of two months. He represented to them, that it would be very unbecoming in them to leave those in slavery, to whom they were indebted for their liberty. The whole assembly cried out with applause, and thanked Quintius for having been pleased to apprize them of so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very great. They had been taken by Hannibal in the Punic war, and as the Romans would not ransom them, they had been sold. It cost Achaia only an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns, to reimburse masters for the prices of slaves, for each of which were paid five hundred *denarii*, that is, about twelve pounds ten shillings. The number in consequence amounted to twelve hundred. The number of the rest may be judged in proportion.

The assembly was not broke up, when the garrison was seen coming down from the citadel, and then marching out of the city. Quintius followed it immediately, and retired amidst the universal acclamations of the Greeks, who called him their preserver and deliverer, and made a thousand prayers and vows to heaven for his happiness.

*A. R. 557.
Ant C. 195.
Quintius
makes the
Roman
garrisons
evacuate
the citadel
of Corinth,*

He also drew off the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received at both places with the same applauses. From thence he went to Thessaly, with design, not only to re-instate the liberty of the cities of that country, but to re-establish a supportable form of government, after the confusion and disorder that had so long prevailed in them. For it was not only the misfortunes of the times, and the tyranny of Kings, which had occasioned those troubles amongst them; but their naturally turbulent and restless disposition; there having never been amongst them, from their origin to the times of which we are speaking, and even to that when Livy wrote, any particular Assembly in each city, or States general of the whole nation, that had not been embroiled by the tumults of parties and seditions. He made the estates of particulars his principal rule in the choice of judges, and in forming a Senate: convinced, that one of the most efficacious methods for reinstating good order amongst that people, was to deposite authority and power in the hands of those, who, by their circumstances and fortunes, had the most interest in maintaining the peace and tranquillity of the nation.

*Chalcis,
and De-
metrias.
Ibid.
He regu-
lates the
affairs of
Thessaly.
Ibid.*

Nabis did not long enjoy the peace, which had been granted him. Some years after, having broke the treaty he had made with the Romans, the Achæans, to whom Flamininus, on his setting out for Rome, had recommended to keep a watchful eye over that tyrant, attacked him under the

*Death of
Nabis.
Liv. xxxiv.
35.*

A. R. 537.
Ant. C. 195.

command of Philopæmen, and after having defeated him in a battle, obliged him to shut himself up in his city. Some time after, Alexamenes, under pretence of bringing him an aid of Ætoli-ans, killed him treacherously. Philopæmen repairing thither immediately after, obliged Sparta to enter into the Achæan league. We shall treat these facts in the sequel with something greater extent.

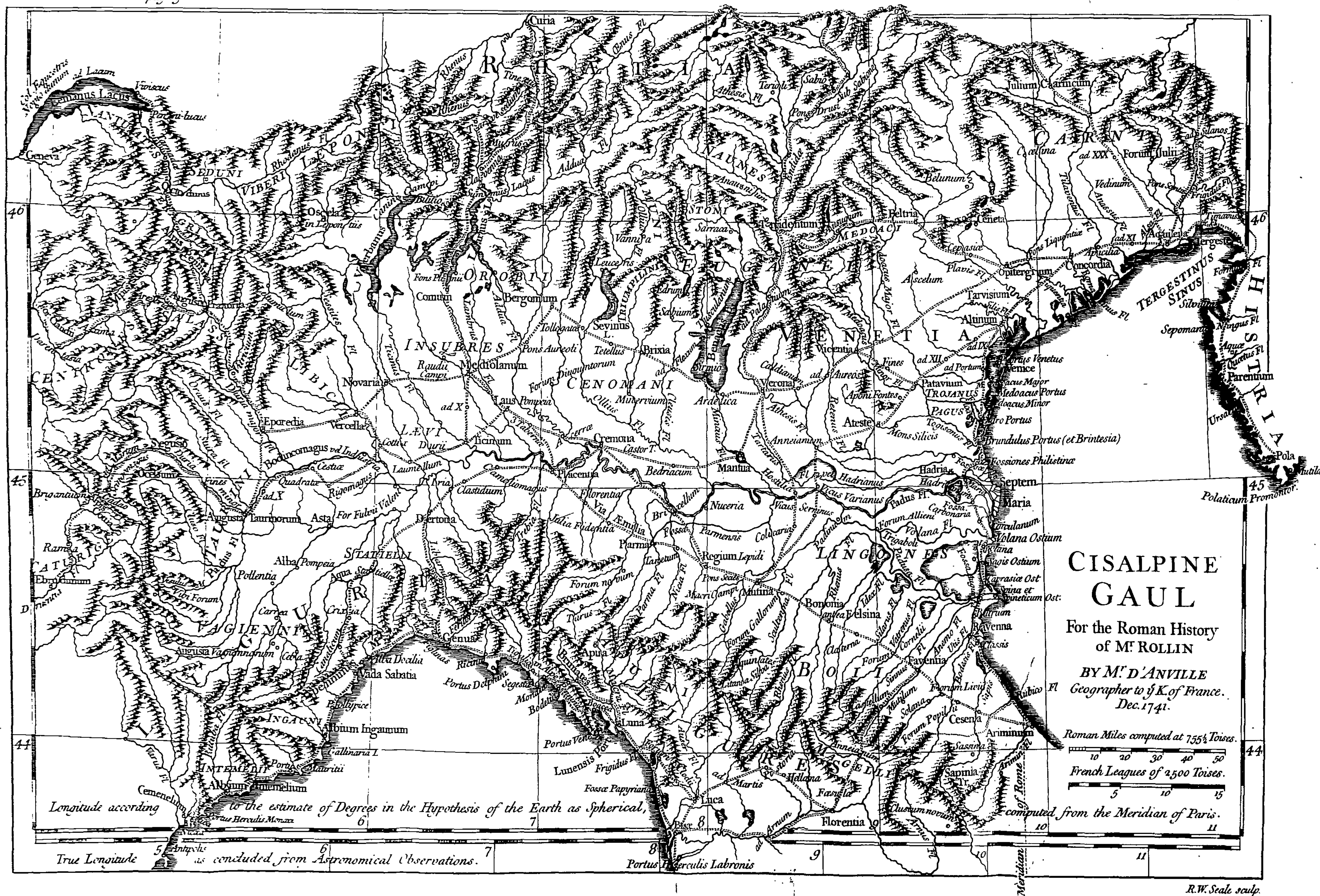
*Quintius
returns to
Rome, and
receives the
honour of
a triumph.*
Liv. xxxiv.
52.

Quintius having settled the affairs of Thessalia, crossed Epirus to Oricum, embarked for Italy, and arrived at Rome, whither all his troops repaired also. The Senate gave him audience without the city, according to custom; and after he had given an exact account of all he had done, the Senators with unanimous consent, decreed him the honour of a triumph, which he had so well deserved. The ceremony continued three days; during which the precious spoils he had taken in the war with the King of Macedonia were exhibited to view. Demetrius son of Philip, and Armenes son of Nabis, were amongst the hostages, and served to adorn the victor's triumph. But its greatest ornament were the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the chariot with their heads shaved in token of the liberty they had lately regained. He caused twenty-five *denarii* to be distributed to each of his soldiers (about twelve shillings and sixpence) twice as much to the centurions, and thrice to the horse.

I have already said, that I should take the liberty either of deferring or anticipating certain facts, without confining myself to relate year by year what passed, in order to avoid interrupting the thread of our history too much, and to shew various events under the same point of view. The dates, which are always in the margent, make it easy to bring the things that happened at the same

1

time



CORNELIUS, MINUCIUS, Consuls.

19

time into the order in which they passed. I re-
turn therefore from whence I digressed.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

A. R. 555.
Ant. C. 197.

Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

These two Consuls had Gaul for their province. *Good suc-*
After having discharged the usual duties of reli- *cess of the*
gion, they both set out for their command. Cor- *two Con-*
nelius marched directly against the Insubrians, *suls in*
who were actually under arms with the Cænoma- *Gaul.*
ni their allies. *Brixia* was the capital of the lat- *Liv. xxxii.*
ter, and Milan of the Insubrians. Q. Minucius *29—31.*
inclining to the left, marched towards the sea, and
advancing on the side of Genoa, first attacked
the Ligurians. He succeeded entirely, and re-
duced all the States on this side of the Po, except
the Boii, and Iuates; the first of whom were
Gauls, and the other Ligurians. Fifteen towns
are said to have surrendered to him, with twenty
thousand of their inhabitants. From thence the
Consul marched his legions into the territory of the
* Boii.

Not long before his arrival, the Boii had passed
the Po with their army, and had joined the Cæno-
mani and Insubrians to oppose the Consuls with
all their forces. But, when they were informed
that one of them was ruining their country, they
returned to defend it. In the mean time the In-
subrians and Cænomani incamped upon the banks
of the river Mincio; and the Consul Cornelius a-
bout five thousand paces below them. That Con-
sul having brought over the Cænomani, prevailed
upon them to remain neuter during the battle. It
was fought, and the Insubrians were entirely de-
feated. It is said, that they left thirty five thou-

* Bononia was their capital, now called Bologna.

A. R. 555.
Ant. C. 197.

land men upon the spot, and that six thousand were taken, with an hundred and thirty ensigns, and above two hundred carriages. The cities of the Cænomani, who had joined in the revolt of the Insubrians, submitted to the victors.

The Boii, who had returned home, having received advice of the entire defeat of the Insubrians, did not dare to venture a battle with Minucius, and dispersed into the towns of their country. Upon advice of this, the Iluates, a people of Liguria, submitted without attempting a vain resistance. The Consuls informed the Senate of their good success. It was decreed, that the temples should be open three days together, and that during that time thanksgivings should be paid to the gods for all these advantages, which were considered as a sensible effect of their protection.

*A triumph
is granted
to one of
the Con-
suls, and
refused to
the other.
Liv. xxxii.
22, 23.*

When the Consuls returned to Rome, the Senate gave them audience in the temple of Bellona. They jointly demanded, that the Senate would grant them a triumph for the advantages they had gained over the enemies of the Commonwealth. Upon which two of the Tribunes of the People declared, that they would not permit them to make their demand in common; it not being reasonable, that the same reward should be granted for services that did not equally deserve it. Notwithstanding all alledged in favour of Minucius by Cornelius, who did not fear lessening his own glory by dividing it with his colleague, after along debates, they were obliged to make their demands separately. Cornelius was granted a triumph for having defeated the Insubrians and Cænomani: but as for Minucius, he could not obtain the same honour of the Senate. But he made himself amends in triumphing by his own authority on the Alban mountain, after the example of
some

some other Generals, whose case had been the same with his. A. R. 555.
Ant. C. 197.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. R. 556.
Ant. C. 196.

The Gauls, except the Cænomani, were far from being entirely subjected, or totally conquered. They again found employment for the new Consuls. In a first battle, Marcellus, attacked by the Boii, lost three thousand men. He soon made himself amends for that loss. Having passed the Po, he led his troops into the territory of Coma, where the Insubrians were incamped with the inhabitants of the country, whom they had made to take arms. A battle was fought, in which, if we may believe an historian (Valerius of Antium) Marcellus killed above forty thousand of the enemy, took five hundred ensigns, four hundred and thirty two carriages, and a great number of gold chains, of which he offered a considerable weight to Jupiter Capitolinus. The same day the camp of the Gauls was stormed and plundered. Some days after the city of Coma was taken, and twenty eight forts surrendered presently after. *New de-
feat of
the Gauls.*
Liv. xxxiii
36, 37.

The two Consuls having united their forces, entered the country of the Ligurians, whether the Boii followed them. A second battle was fought, in which, says Livy, it fully appeared, that anger is highly capable of exalting valour. For the Romans, incensed that the Gauls should perpetually harass them by their revolts, and regarding victory less than revenge, abandoned themselves to their resentment in such a manner, that they scarce left a single man of the enemy, to carry home the news of their defeat.

When advice of these successes in the Consuls letters arrived at Rome, the Senate decreed thank-

A. R. 556.
Ant. C. 195. givings to all the gods in the temples during three days. Soon after Marcellus returned to Rome, where a triumph was decreed him over the Insubrians and the inhabitants of Coma. He left his colleague the hopes of triumphing over the Boii.

Liv. xxxiv.
21. The next year the Consul Valerius Flaccus also gained a victory over the Boii.

Liv. xxxiv.
46, 47. Scipio Africanus was Consul for the second time in the year 558. He seems to have thought it below him to descend to enemies so unworthy of his sword. He left to Ti. Sempronius his colleague the too easy glory of conquering the Insubrians and the Boii. It however cost him very dear. They at first attacked him in his camp with great vigour, and he lost abundance of men in repulsing them; but at length he put them to flight, and cut them to pieces. Eleven thousand Gauls, and five thousand Romans fell in the field of battle.

New war
with the
Gauls. The war with the Gauls and Ligurians was in respect to the Romans become in a manner anniversary; but it broke out with more violence, and occasioned more terror in the year upon which we are now entering, the 559th of Rome, than it had done before. On the news that fifteen thousand Ligurians had entered the country of Placentia, and put all to fire and sword, having advanced as far as the walls of the colony, and to the banks of the Po, and that the Boii after their example were upon the point of taking arms, the Senate declared, *that there was a Tumult*. This was a form of words, that implied the importance of the war, and was used particularly in respect to the Gauls, as I have already observed elsewhere. On this declaration all exemptions ceased, and it was lawful to make such citizens take arms as were exempted from them in common wars.

The hopes of plunder brought new troops to the Gauls every day, and above forty thousand men were already assembled round Pisa. The arrival of the Consul Minucius with his army saved the city. The enemy immediately removed their camp to the other side of the Arno, and the Consul followed them the next day, and incamped at a thousand paces from them. He defended the lands of the allies from his post, by falling upon the troops sent out by the enemy to ravage them: but he avoided coming to a battle with them, as they desired, not relying sufficiently upon his troops, which were new raised, and drawn together from different parts.

The other Consul L. Cornelius Merula, marching on the confines of Liguria, had led his army into the country of the Boii, where he acted against those people quite in a different manner than his colleague did against the Ligurians. He offered the Boii battle, which they did not dare to accept, chusing rather to see their lands laid waste than to hazard a general action. The Consul having destroyed the whole country with fire and sword, quitted it, and marched towards Modena. The Boii followed him without noise; and in the night seized a defile through which he was necessarily to pass, where they expected to surprize him. But the Consul having discovered their design, and avoided the ambuscade they had laid for him, he marched against them, and obliged them to come to a battle. It was long and bloody. The Boii were at length put to the rout, and cut to pieces. Fourteen thousand of them were left on the spot: near eleven hundred were taken prisoners, with two hundred and twelve ensigns, and sixty three chariots. The Romans paid dear enough for this victory. They lost five thousand men, citizens,

A. R. 556. and allies, amongst whom were several officers of
Ant. C. 196. distinction.

*The Consul
Minucius
delivered
from an
extreme
danger by
the bold-
ness of the
Numidians*
Liv. *ibid.*
11.

Towards the end of the year the troops of the Commonwealth were twice exposed to great danger in Liguria. First the enemy attacked the camp of the Romans, and were very near making themselves masters of it : and some few days after the Consul having entered a defile, the Ligurians seized the way through which he was to pass out of it. Minucius seeing the way closed up before him, prepared to return back : but part of their troops had also shut up that, by which he had entered : which put the troops in mind of the ambuscades at Caudium, and presented an image of them to their eyes. The Consul had about eight hundred Numidians amongst the auxiliary troops of his army. The officer, who commanded them, came to him, and offered him to open a passage through the enemy, and to preserve the army ; adding, that he had certain means for that effect. Minucius gave him the highest praises, and promised to reward so important a service as it deserved. The Numidians immediately mounted their horses, and began to gallop up to the posts of the Ligurians, however without making any attack. At first sight, nothing seemed more contemptible than this cavalry. Both the men and horses, were little and lean. The horsemen had no belts, and were armed only with javelins. The horses had no bridles, and ran in a disorderly manner, with their necks and heads low and stretched out. To augment this contemptible appearance, they fell off their horses with design, making themselves a sight, and exposing themselves to the laughter of the enemy. Most of the Ligurians, who at first kept on their guard in their posts, in readiness to defend themselves in case of being attacked, threw down their arms, and only looked

looked with folded arms upon a sight, that made ^{A. R. 556.}
 them laugh. However the Numidians continued ^{Ant. C. 196.}
 galloping up on every side, then flying back the
 same way they came, advancing however by de-
 grees towards the end of the defile, as if against
 their will and ran away with by their horses. At
 length spurring them on full speed, they forced the
 Ligurians to open, and give them passage. They
 then set fire to the first houses that came in their
 way, and afterwards to the first town they came
 to, and to several others in like manner, killing
 all that fell into their hands. The Ligurians,
 from the place where they were incamped, first
 perceived the smoke of their fires; and presently
 after heard the cries of the unhappy creatures they
 were burning and massacring in the towns and vil-
 lages; and at length the old people and children,
 that had escaped the fury of the Numidians, came
 and spread terror and dismay throughout the whole
 camp. Most of the Ligurians upon this, without
 either taking counsel, or waiting orders from any
 body, ran each his own way to defend their fami-
 lies and estates. In few hours the camp was aban-
 doned; and the Consul delivered from the dan-
 ger, continued his march, and arrived where he
 first intended.

The year following (560) the same Minucius ^{Liv. xxxv.}
 gained a considerably important victory over the ^{21.}
 Ligurians. And their country was soon after laid ^{Ibid. 40.}
 in ruins by the Consul Quintius: whilst on ano-
 ther side, his colleague Domitius reduced part of
 the Boii into subjection.

The inveteracy of the Ligurians against the *Furious in-*
 Romans, had something like madness in it. They *inveteracy of*
 had (in the year 551) set an army on foot upon *the Ligu-*
 the principle, they called *the Sacred Law*, by *rics.*
 which the soldiers engaged under the most dread- ^{Liv. xxxvi.}
 ful oaths never to depart from the battle except ^{38.}
 victo-

A. R. 556. victorious. They came on a sudden during the
 Ant. C. 196. night to attack the camp of the Proconsul Minucius. That General kept his troops under arms till day, taking great care that the enemy should not force any part of his intrenchments, in which he kept close. As soon as day appeared, he made a sally upon them through two gates at once. But he did not repulse the Ligurians by this first effort, as he had hoped. They disputed the victory above two hours. At length, exhausted by the fatigue of the battle and long duty, they were not able to resist fresh troops, that continually succeeded each other, and fear effacing the remembrance of their oaths, they at length turned their backs. On their side four thousand men were killed ; and the Romans lost three hundred.

*Victory
 and tri-
 umph of
 the Consul
 Nasica
 over the
 Boii.*

About two months after the Consul P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, gained a great battle against the army of the Boii, and made himself master of their camp. The Consul obliged them to give him hostages, and deprived them of half their territory, in order that the Roman People might send colonies into it if they thought proper. He soon after set out for Rome, after having dismissed his army, and assigned them a day for their return to the city, in order to triumph with him. For he did not doubt, but a triumph would be granted him : which however met with more difficulty than he imagined. The day after his arrival, he summoned an assembly of the Senate in the Temple of Bellona ; and after having given an account of the victory he had gained, he demanded permission to enter the city in triumph. P. Sempronius Blæsus, Tribune of the People, “ acknowledged, that he highly deserved that
 “ honour ; but added that he was not for having
 “ it granted him immediately. That he had
 “ been a little too hasty in dismissing his army,
 “ and

“ and in returning to Rome. That they might
 “ have done the Commonwealth great service by
 “ marching into Liguria, and that it would be
 “ very proper to send back the Consul and his
 “ legions thither, in order to the entire reduction
 “ of the Ligurians. That then it would be the
 “ proper time to grant him a triumph.”

The Consul replied, “ that the lots had not gi-
 “ ven him Liguria, but the country of the Boii,
 “ for his province. That he had overcome that
 “ People in a pitched battle, had taken their
 “ camp, and two days after reduced the whole
 “ nation to surrender. That it was over them he
 “ asked to triumph, and not over the Ligurians.
 “ That for the rest, they ought not to wonder,
 “ that the victorious army, having no longer any
 “ enemies in the province, was returned to Rome
 “ to honour the General’s triumph. That to
 “ send it back again, as the Tribune proposed,
 “ would be a disgrace it undoubtedly did not de-
 “ serve, no more than himself. That as to what
 “ personally regarded him, he thought himself
 “ too much honoured for his whole life by the
 “ glorious testimony of the Senate in his favour,
 “ when they chose him as the most worthy man
 “ of the Commonwealth, to receive the Mother
 “ of the gods. That that title only, though
 “ those of Consul and Triumpher were not added
 “ to it, would suffice to make his name famous
 “ throughout all ages.” Remonstrances so rea-
 sonable engaged the whole Senate in his favour,
 and even induced the Tribune to desist from his
 opposition. Accordingly he triumphed over the
 Boii in a more honourable manner for himself,
 than if he had found no difficulty upon that
 head.

After having ran over the affairs of Gaul and
 Liguria, I now proceed to those of Spain. It
 cannot

A. R. 556.
 Ant. C. 196.

Affairs of
Spain.

A. R. 595.
Ant. C. 195.
Liv. xxxi.
50.

cannot be said that there absolutely was no war there; during the four years that Philip principally employed the Roman arms, as Cn. Cornelius, who had been sent thither in 552, in the year 556 of which we are going to speak, obtained an Ovation for his successes in Spain. But those wars had been little considerable, as we may conjecture from the silence of Livy.

Blow re-
ceived in
Hispania
Citerior.
Liv. xxxiii
25.

Soon after the treaty of peace had been concluded with Philip, the joy that happy event occasioned, was interrupted by the bad news received from Spain. It formed two provinces: Hispania Citerior, which (as I have said) was on this side the Iberus, and Hispania Ulterior, on the other side of that river. Advice came, “ that the
“ Prætor C. Sempronius Tuditanus had been de-
“ feated in Hispania Citerior; that his army had
“ been defeated and put to flight; and that several
“ persons of distinction had been killed in that
“ action. That Tuditanus himself had been car-
“ ried off from the field of battle dangerously
“ wounded, and had died some few days after.”

A. R. 597.
Ant. C. 193.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. PORCIUS CATO.

Cato had Hispania Citerior for his province. Before he set out for it, a famous contest arose concerning the law *Oppia*, in which he had a great share. I shall speak of it in the sequel, after I have related his military expeditions.

Departure
of Cato
for Spain.
Liv. xxxi.
8.

After this dispute had been terminated, Cato set out with twenty five galleys, of which the allies furnished five, and repaired to the Port of * *Luna*, where he had ordered his army to assemble. Having caused all the vessels along the coast, of what-

* Is the gulf of Spezia on the coast of Genoa.

every kind they were, to be drawn together, he embarked his soldiers in them, and commanded them to follow him to the port Pyrenæus, from whence it was his design to advance directly against the enemy, with his whole fleet. He arrived at * *Emporia*, where he landed all his troops, except those for the sea-service.

Emporia was two cities, separated by a wall, one of which was inhabited by Greeks originally of Phocæa, as well as the Massilians, and the other by Spaniards. It is surprizing, that foreigners, exposed on the one side to incursions from the sea, and on the other to the attacks of the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike nation, should be capable of supporting themselves so long upon that coast, and of preserving their liberty. This wonderful effect is only to be ascribed to vigilance and discipline, which nothing supports more amongst the weak, than the fear of being surprized by neighbours more powerful than themselves. The part of the wall on the side of the country was very well fortified, having but one gate, the guard of which was confided to one of the magistrates, who never quitted it. During the night, one third of the citizens were always posted upon the walls for their defence. And they discharged this duty, in which they relieved each other, not out of form and in obedience to the law, but with as much care, vigilance, and exactness, as if the enemy had been at the gates. They admitted no Spaniard into their city, and quitted it but seldom and with great precaution; but they were at entire liberty to do so by sea. As to the gate on the side of the Spanish city, they never went out of that except in great numbers; which usually were that third of the inhabitants who guarded the walls

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

Description of Emporia.
Liv. xxxiv. 9.

* *New Amourias, a city of Spain in Catalonia.*

A. R. 557. during the night. The reasons that induced them
 Ant. C. 195. to quit the place were as follow. The Spaniards,
 little accustomed to navigation, were highly fond
 of trading with this People, and to buy of them
 the foreign goods, which they imported in their
 ships ; selling them in their turn the product
 of the country which they could spare from their
 own occasions. This mutual dependance on each
 other gave the Greeks entrance into the Spanish
 city. The protection of the Romans ; whose
 amity they cultivated with no less zeal than the
 Massilians, though they were not so powerful as
 them, contributed also to their security. And it
 was for this reason, they then received the Consul
 and his army with abundance of ardour and joy.

Liv. xxxiv. M. Helvius, who had defeated the Celtiberians
 10. in Hispania Ulterior, and taken the city of * Il-
 liturgis, at his return to Rome received the ho-
 nour of an ovation ; and Q. Minucius, who had
 commanded in Hispania Citerior, was honoured
 with a triumph.

Cato's
 stratagem. Whilst the Consul was incamped at no great di-
 Liv. xxxiv. stance from *Emporia*, Ambassadors came to him
 11—13. from the Prince of the Illergetes, in company with
 Frontin. his son, “ to demand aid of him against the re-
 iv. 7. “ bels, without which they were not able to re-
 “ sist them. They represented to him, that five
 “ thousand men sufficed for defending their coun-
 “ try, and that the enemy would no sooner see
 “ them appear, than they would retire.” Cato re-
 plied, “ that he was much affected with the dan-
 “ ger, and anxiety of that Prince: but, having
 “ so great a number of enemies around him,
 “ with whom he was every day upon the point of
 “ coming to blows, he could not, without mani-
 “ fest danger, weaken his army by dividing it.”

* *A. in. of Spain in Andalusia.*

The deputies, after hearing this discourse, pro-
strated themselves at the Consul's feet, "conjuring
" him not to abandon their country in the sad si-
" tuation to which it was reduced : for what would
" become of them, if they were rejected by the
" Roman People ? That they had no allies besides
" them, nor any other resource in the world.
" That they might have preserved themselves
" from the calamity that menaced them, if they
" could have departed from their engagements,
" and taken up arms with the rest. But that they
" had contemned the threats of their neighbours,
" from the hope that the Romans would be pow-
" erful enough to defend them. That, if, con-
" trary to their expectations, they should see
" themselves abandoned, and the Consul inexora-
" ble to their prayers, they called gods and men
" to witness, that it was against their will they
" entered into the revolt of the other States of
" Spain, and that if it was their necessity to pe-
" rish, at least they should not perish alone."

Cato dismissed them that day without any answer. Two cares equally affecting disturbed his repose during the whole night. He was unwilling to abandon his allies, and at the same time was desirous not to divide his troops. He saw great inconveniences in both : but he came to a resolution. He answered the deputies the next day, that though he apprehended weakening himself by lending his troops to others, however he had more regard to the danger that threatened them, than to the situation he was in himself. He commanded the third part of the soldiers of each cohort to prepare provisions, and to carry them on board the ships ; and the Captains of the vessels to be in readiness to set out in three days. Having given these orders, he dismissed two of the Ambassadors to give the King of the Illergetes advice of them,
and

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

A. R. 557. and kept the son of that Prince with him, whom
 Ann.C. 195. he treated with great amity, and made him great presents. He did not let the Ambassadors set out, till they had seen the soldiers embarked.

All this was only a stratagem and feint. Cato, not being able really to supply the allies with the reinforcement of troops they demanded, had conceived this method of giving them hopes of them at least. (a) He knew, that often, especially in war, appearances produce the same effects as reality, and that the idea only of an aid, though not yet received, but upon which there are reasons entirely to rely, suffices to inspire confidence and boldness. And accordingly this news being spread as certain throughout the country, convinced not only the Illergetes, but also the enemy, that the Romans were upon the point of arriving; upon which the rebels retired immediately.

Victory gained by Cato over the Spaniards near the city Emporia.
 Liv xxxiv 13—15. As the season admitted taking the field and acting, Cato marched and incamped at a thousand paces from *Emporia*; and from thence, leaving always part of his soldiers to guard his camp, he sent the rest to plunder the enemy's country, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another. They acted so well, that the Spaniards did not dare to quit their fortresses. When he was sufficiently assured of the disposition of his people, and of that of the enemy, he assembled his troops, and told them: "That hitherto they had confined themselves to plundering the enemy; that the question now was to fight them, and to enrich themselves not only with the product of their lands, but with the spoils of their ci-

(a) Sociis spem prore ostentandam centet. Super vana pro veris, maxime in bello, valuisse; & credentem se aliquid auxilii habere, perinde atque haberet, ipsâ fiducia. & sperant'o atque audendo servatum. Liv.

“ ties. That it was a disgrace for the Romans to
 “ have the possession of a country disputed with
 “ them, of which they were so lately masters.
 “ That it was necessary to recover it sword in
 “ hand, and to force a people, who knew better
 “ how to revolt with temerity, than to sustain a
 “ war with constancy, to resume the yoke they
 “ had thrown off.” Seeing them full of ardor,
 he declared, that the next night he would lead
 them to the enemy’s camp. In the mean time
 he ordered them to take nourishment and repose.

After having consulted the auspices, he set out
 at midnight to seize the post he had in view be-
 fore the enemy should perceive it, and made his
 troops march beyond and behind the enemy’s
 camp. His design, as he told his soldiers, was to
 reduce them to the necessity of conquering, leaving
 them no other resource but their courage. When
 day appeared, after having drawn up his troops in
 battle, he detached three cohorts to the foot of the
 enemy’s intrenchments. Those Barbarians amazed
 to see the Roman army behind them, ran to their
 arms. The three cohorts immediately retired, as
 they had received orders, to engage the Spaniards;
 by that dissembled flight, to quit their intrench-
 ments. And this accordingly happened. Whilst
 they were in motion in order to form themselves in
 order of battle, Cato, who had had time to draw
 up in the best manner, fell upon them before they
 could post themselves. He first made the cavalry
 of both wings advance against them. But that of
 the right being presently repulsed and put to flight,
 had put the infantry itself into some disorder. The
 Consul upon that ordered two chosen cohorts to
 move behind the right wing of the enemy, and to
 shew themselves at their backs, before the infan-
 try on both sides came to blows. The Spaniards
 were at first terrified by this motion, seeing them-

A. R. 557.
A.U.C. 195.

selves attacked at the same time both in front and rear ; but they made a vigorous defence. After having discharged their darts and javelins, they came to close fight, and the battle began again with new ardor. Cato perceiving that his troops began to grow weary, made some reserved cohorts advance to sustain and encourage them. As they were entirely fresh soldiers, and waited the signal with impatience, they had a great advantage over troops exhausted by the fatigues of a battle, which had already continued a great while. Accordingly drawn up in the form of a wedge, they broke into the Spaniards, made them give way, and at length entirely routed them, so that being dispersed about the country, they endeavoured to regain their camp.

Cato seeing them in such disorder, ordered the second legion, which he had left in the *corps de reserve*, to march directly and assault the enemy's camp. The victorious troops had already begun the attack. The Consul, who was attentive to every thing, seeing the enemy less numerous at the gate than on his left, hastened thither at the head of the Principes and Hastati of the second legion. Those who defended that gate could not resist the vigour with which it was attacked ; and the rest, seeing the Romans had entered their lines, and were upon the point of making themselves masters of their camp, began to throw down their arms and ensigns, and to fly to the opposite gates in order to escape. But as they were too narrow to give passage to the throng that crowded to them, the soldiers of the second legion fell upon them, and made a great slaughter, whilst the rest plundered the camp. Livy tells us, that an historian (Valerius of Antium) affirms, that above forty thousand Spaniards were killed in this battle. But the same Livy, in more than one place,

place, accuses that writer of being apt to exaggerate, and even to falsify; and (a) Cato, who certainly could not be suspected of lessening his advantages, contented himself with saying, that abundance of the enemy were killed, without mentioning their number.

The States, after this victory, came from many parts to submit to the Romans; and when Cato arrived at Tarraco, all that part of Spain situated on this side of the Iberus, and therefore called *Citerior* with respect to Italy, seemed entirely subjected.

Their bodies were so, but not their minds; which appeared from the repeated revolts of some States, which after having submitted, resumed their arms as soon as the Consul was removed. Cato, apprehending that others might do the same, chose to disarm all the Spaniards that inhabited on this side of the Iberus. Those fierce nations, to whom to live without the use of arms, was not to live, were so much affected with that affront, that many of them killed themselves upon it. The Consul, having received advice of this desperate resolution, summoned the Senators of all the cities to an assembly, and told them, *It is more for your interest than ours, that you should remain quiet under us, as your revolts have always been attended with more calamity to your own people, than difficulty to our armies. The only means I have to prevent your defections, is to make it impossible for you to take arms. My design is to use the most gentle method for reducing you to that happy necessity. And you ought to assist me in this with your counsels. I am ready to follow such as you shall give me in preference to all other.* Seeing that they continued silent: I give you, ad-

A. R. 557.
Ant. Q. 195.

Cato disarms all the States on this side of the Iberus, and causes all the walls of the cities to be thrown down.
Liv. xxxiv. 17, 18.
App. de bell. Hisp. 277.

(a) Cato ipse, haud sane detrectator laudum suarum, &c.

A. R. 57.
AUL. C. 195.

ded he, *some days to reflect upon this*. As they gave him no answer in a second assembly, he resolved for himself; and, keeping them, according to appearance, in suspense, he sent couriers to all the cities of the country, who were instructed on the same hour of the same day to deliver letters from the Consul into the hands of the elders and magistrates. They contained orders to demolish all their fortifications that instant, with menaces to make all slaves, who did not obey directly. The uncertainty of each city, whether the like orders had been given to the rest, or related only to itself, and the impossibility of holding a council, and concerting together, determined them to obey, and the order was executed the same day by most of the States. As soon as Cato received advice of this, he marched to reduce the rest of the rebels, which he easily effected.

Praise of
Cato.

In the disposition to revolt, that prevailed throughout the whole nation, because after having tasted the sweets of liberty, all subjoined was become insupportable to them, Cato thought himself obliged, even for the good of the province, to deprive them of all resource or means of resistance. And it was evident, that the least delay would be attended with a general insurrection: on this occasion appeared of what value the ability of a General is. (a) The Consul, whose capacity equalled his resolution and courage, saw and exa-

(a) In Consule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit, ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret, atque ageret: nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quæ in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret; nec in quemquam omnium

gravius severiusque quam in semetipsum imperium exerceret; parsimonia, & vigiliis & labore, cum ultimis militum cerneret, nec quicquam in exercitu suo præcipui, præter honorem atque imperium, haberet.

mined

mined every thing with his own eyes, and was entirely attentive to important enterprizes, without neglecting the least affairs. He did not content himself with meditating what was to be done, and giving orders accordingly to his subaltern officers: he executed the greatest part of his projects in person. There was not a single man in the whole army upon whom he imposed more pains and fatigue than upon himself, always taking the most arduous part of the service for his own share. He piqued himself upon not giving place to the meanest of his soldiers in frugality, labour, and duty. To conclude, he had nothing in his army peculiar to himself, and that distinguished him from the rest, except office and command.

The Prætor P. Manlius, who had been sent with Cato to aid him in the service, made war against the Turdetani, who, sustained by ten thousand Celtiberians, gave him employment enough. He wrote in consequence to the Consul, and demanded aid of him. Cato marched immediately to him. Not being able to bring the enemy to a battle, he advanced into a country, which had not yet felt the calamities of war, and put every thing in it to fire and sword. After some other expeditions, having left the greatest part of his army with the Prætor, he kept only seven cohorts with himself, with which he returned towards the Iberus, where he again subjected some States who had taken up arms in his absence.

Cato, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. This was in the 558th year of Rome.

The following years there were some insurrections in Spain, but nothing very considerable passed in effect.

S E C T. II.

Contests in Rome concerning the law Oppia. Speech of the Consul Cato in favour of that law. Speech of the Tribune Valerius against the law. It is abolished. Sacred Spring. Distinguished places for the Senators in the games. Rumour occasioned by the distinction of places granted to the Senators in the shows. Regulation against usury. Embassy of the Rhodians to Antiochus King of Syria. Answer of the Roman commissioners to the Ambassadors of Antiochus. Embassy of the Romans to that Prince. Return of the ten commissioners to Rome. They shew, that it is necessary to prepare for a war with Antiochus. Hannibal becomes suspected by the Romans. Ambassadors sent from Rome to Carthage. Hannibal quits Carthage and escapes. He goes to Antiochus at Ephesus. Discourse of a philosopher in the presence of Hannibal. Conference between Quintius and the Ambassadors of Antiochus, which was ineffectual. Antiochus takes measures with Hannibal for the success of the war with the Romans. Contest between Masinissa and the Carthaginians left undetermined by the Roman deputies. Lustrum closed. Strong caballing for the Consulship. The credit of Quintius carries it against that of Scipio Africanus.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

A. R. 557.
A. M. C. 195.

I HAVE deferred speaking hitherto of the famous contest, that arose in the Consulship of Cato in respect to the jewels and ornaments of the Roman ladies, in which that Consul had a great share.

In

In the interval between two important wars, of which the one (with Philip) was scarce terminated, and the other (with Antiochus) upon the point of breaking out, a quarrel happened at Rome concerning a thing inconsiderable enough in itself, but which however was the occasion of great feuds. M. Fundanius and L. Valerius Tribunes of the People proposed the abrogation of the law Oppia. It had been established in the Consulship of Q. Fabius and Ti. Sempronius; when the war with Hannibal was at its greatest height, and soon after the battle of Cannæ so fatal to the Commonwealth. By this law the Roman ladies were prohibited “to use above half an ounce of gold in their dress; “to wear habits of different colours; and to be “carried either in Rome; or a thousand paces “round it, in chariots drawn by horses, except “on the occasion of public sacrifices.” Two other Tribunes of the People; of the family of Junius Brutus, took upon themselves the defence of the law, and declared that it should not be abolished.

For the honour of the ladies in respect to the present question, it is proper to remember, that from the earliest times they had been highly zealous for the public good, and little attached to their jewels, as they had carried in all their gold and ornaments to the public treasury to be used for the accomplishment of a vow made by Camillus on the occasion of the taking of Veii. The Senate did not suffer so pious and generous a liberality to go unrewarded; and granted the ladies permission to be carried to the sacrifices in the more distinguished and honourable kind of chariot, *pilento*; and on all other occasions, whether on festivals or not, in the more common chariot, *carpento*. It is a matter of surprize, that in the speeches which we are going to repeat, that this

A. R. 557. fact which relates so much to them, should not be
Ant. C. 195. mentioned.

It is very probable, that the law *Oppia*, the institution of which is not related by Livy in its place, had remained without execution as to the first article which regards the gold; as some years after the battle of Cannæ, when the funds of the Commonwealth were entirely deficient, and all the gold and silver of the citizens were brought into the public treasury, the ladies had an ounce of gold allowed each of them to be used in their ornaments. Consequently they were not reduced at that time to the half ounce prescribed by the law *Oppia*. Having made these observations, I proceed to relate the fact.

Many of the principal persons of the city joined the Tribunes in this dispute, some in favour of the law, and some against it. The capitol was filled with multitudes of the populace, who were divided in opinion as well as the rich. The ladies, convinced that they ought not to confine themselves to the common rules of decency in an affair wherein they were so sensibly and personally interested, dispersed themselves in the streets, and besieged all the avenues to the Forum, intreating all those who passed, to permit the ladies, at a time when the Commonwealth was resuming its former state, and the fortunes of individuals were increasing every day, to resume also their antient ornaments. They went so far as to address the Consuls, Prætors, and other magistrates, and to conjure them to favour their cause.

Speech of M. Porcius Cato, one of the Consuls, inex-
the Consul orable and deaf to their prayers, spoke thus in
in favour favour of the law, that it was proposed to abolish.
of the law *Romans, if every one of us had known how to pre-*
Oppia. *serve his authority in his own house, and to make his*
Liv. xxxiv *wife pay him due respect, we should not be at this*
time

time so much at a loss to keep them within the bounds of their duty. But, because we have suffered them to give us the law at home, that imperious sex is for imposing it upon us even in the Forum; and after having got the better of each of us in particular, they are now in hopes of overcoming us all together, and in a body. Do we not know, that there is nothing more dangerous than to suffer the women to hold private assemblies, and to form intrigues and cabals together. What then is become of that antient modesty and reserve that prevailed amongst the sex? As for me, I declare it was not without blushing, that I passed through these crowds of women to get to the Forum. If I had not been more prevented by the respect I have for each of them in particular, than for them all in general, and had not been desirous to spare them the shame of a Consul's expostulations, I should certainly have asked them: Are you not ashamed, ladies, to run in this manner from street to street, to block up the ways and passages, and to address requests, and make your court to men, who are not your husbands? The very favour in question could you not have asked in private at home of your husbands? Are you then more liberal of caresses in public than in private, and to strangers, than to those to whom alone you owe both your love, and the marks that denote it. But, to express myself better, you should only be informed at home of what passes here, and of what laws are annulled or established, if you confined yourselves within the bounds which modesty prescribes your sex? Our ancestors did not permit the women to transact any affair even of a private kind, without being authorized; and always kept them in subjection to their fathers, brothers, or husbands. And now, if the gods do not order it otherwise, we shall soon admit them to share in the government of the state!

Do not believe, Romans, that their sole end is to recover the advantages of which the law Oppia hath deprived

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

*A. R. 557. deprived them. They aspire at a liberty, or, to speak
 A. C. 195. more justly, at a licence without bounds. You know
 by how many laws, as by so many curbs, our ancestors subjected them to their husbands; and how much difficulty we still have, notwithstanding those ties to keep them within their duty and obedience. If they once attain to break through them one after another, it will not be possible for you to support them. As soon as they shall become your equals, they will believe they have a right to govern you.*

But some body may say, all they demand is, that no new servitude be imposed upon them: it is not from justice that they desire to be exempted, but from a slavery unjustly imposed upon them. No, Romans, their pretensions do not terminate in that. In forcing you to abolish a law, the utility of which you have experienced so many years, they are for striking at all the rest. (a) There is no law equally commodious to all; and all that is proposed in establishing some new one is, that it may be beneficial to the greater part of the citizens, and to the Commonwealth in general. If those to whom the law is disagreeable, are allowed to cause it to be annulled; to what purpose would the People make institutions, that were to be cancelled by those against whom they were made?

But after all, what is the important affair then, that alarms the ladies so much at present, and which makes them run about as if they were in despair, and almost thrust themselves into the assemblies of the Roman People? Do they come to ask us to ransom their fathers, husbands, children, or brothers, become the prisoners of Hannibal? Thanks to the gods, the Commonwealth is safe from these calamities, and we have reason to believe it will be so for ever. But however, when that was the case, you were deaf to their prayers,

(a) Nulla lex satis commodior, si majori parti, & in omnibus est: id modo quaeritur, si summam prodest.

how legitimate soever in their foundation. If it be not A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195. tenderness for their families, it is perhaps through a motive of religion that they assemble; to receive the mother of the gods, just arrived from Pessinus in Phrygia? For in a word I should be glad, that they could give some specious reason for their insurrection. Let us hear what they say themselves, Romans. We demand, say they, that we may be suffered to appear before your eyes, glittering with gold and purple; to ride through the city, on festivals and other days in our chariots, as in triumph, and trampling under foot the law, that restrains our pride; in a word, that bounds may be set no longer either to our expences, or our luxury. And it is to this, properly speaking, their requests tend.

I have (a) often complained to you of the luxury of the women and that of the men, as well magistrates as private persons. You have often heard me say, that the Commonwealth was sick of two opposite distempers, avarice and luxury; scourges which have subverted the greatest empires. The state becomes more flourishing every day; it continually makes new acquisitions: it hath already extended its sway into Greece and Asia, opulent countries, that abound with all that can attract the passions: we have already possessed ourselves of the riches of Kings. But it is this very opulence, that alarms me, and makes me tremble for the Commonwealth. I am afraid, that the spoils of the vanquished will be fatal to us, and that having seized so much riches, we shall become

(a) Sæpe me quærentem de sceminarum, sæpe de virorum, nec de privatorum modò, sed etiam magistratuum sumptibus audistis; diversisque duobus vitiis; avaritia & luxuria, civitatem laborare: quæ pestes omnia magna imperia everterunt. Hæc ego, quo melior

lætiorque in dies fortuna reipublicæ est, imperiumque crescit, & jam in Græciam Asiamque transcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas, & regias etiam attrectamus gazas, eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos operint, quam nos illæ.

A. R. 557.
AUL. C. 195.

slaves to them. Believe me, Romans, when Marcellus brought so many exquisite statues into this city from Syracuse, he introduced dangerous enemies. I hear noising now but People admiring the ornaments of Corinth and Athens, and deriding the earthen statues of our gods, placed in the front of the temples of Rome. As for my part, I prefer those gods, such as they are, to those of foreign nations: for they have hitherto been favourable to us, and I hope always will, as long as we leave them in their places, and do not think of substituting others to them.

In the time of our fathers, King Pyrrhus directed Cineas his Ambassador to make presents, not only to our men, but our women, in order to engage them in his interests. The law Oppia was not then in being against the luxury and levity of the sex. However not one of them accepted the proffered gifts. What reason can be assigned for so generous a refusal? The same which our ancestors had for not making a law upon this head. Because there was no kind of luxury to restrain. As Diseases must be known, before proper remedies are sought for them; so vices must arise before laws are made to check their growth. At a time when the ladies refused the gold and purple offered them, there was no occasion for laws, against the abuse of them. Things are much changed. If Cineas were to return now with his presents, he would find the women in the public places entirely ready to receive them.

*As for me, there are passions of which I cannot well comprehend the cause. For, as I should not wonder, that a lady should think it a kind of disgrace, and felt some indignation, if she were prohibited what were allowed to others; so I cannot see, what should give pain to any one in particular in a law, which makes no difference between them in respect to their dress and ornaments. It is a vicious
and*

and reproachable shame, to blush either for a prudent A. R. 557.
economy, or for poverty itself. But the law spares Ant. C. 195.
you this shame, in taking upon itself, by the equality it
establishes between the rich and poor, your not wear-
ing the ornaments and pomp, which are not seen in
your dress.

This is exactly that equality, says a rich lady, that
I cannot bear. Why am not I distinguished from
others by the gold and purple, which I am in a con-
dition to display in my attire? Why is the poverty of
others concealed under the shadow of this law, so that
the simplicity of their appearance may be attributed to
the prohibition, and not to the want of means. Are
you desirous, Romans, to excite an emulation of lux-
ury between your wives, which would induce the rich
to provide themselves with jewels and ornaments that
others cannot attain; and the poor to make efforts
above their fortunes, to avoid the contempt, which so
evident a difference would draw upon them? Cer-
tainly, as soon as they once begin to think That shame-
ful, that is not so, Vice, which is the only thing they
ought to blush at, will cease to give them confusion.
She who hath money enough of her own, will adorn
herself at her own expence: and she who hath not,
will ask it of her husband. Unhappy the husband,
who either grants his wife her request; or refuses
her; when he shall see her receive from another, what
he was unwilling to give her himself. Do we not al-
ready see them, publickly and without scruple, make
requests to men, who are not their husbands; and
earnestly sollicite favourable suffrages, which they even
obtain of some, whilst themselves are inexorable in
what regards their families? Reflect well upon this.
As soon as the law shall set no bounds to the expences of
your wives, it will not be possible for you ever to do
so yourselves. And do not imagine, Romans, that
things will remain upon the same foot, as they were
before

A. R. 557. before the establishment of the law. (a) It is better
 A.M.C. 195. for a criminal not to be accused, than to be acquitted:
 and we may say also of luxury, that if it had not been
 attacked at all, it would have been more supportable
 and less excessive, than it will be for the future, like
 some wild beast, whom chains have only enraged, and
 which when loose, becomes in effect more furious than
 it was before. My opinion is, Romans, that you
 should let the law Oppia subsist in all its force.
 Whatever you may resolve, I hope the gods will
 make it for the good and glory of the Common-
 wealth.

The Tribunes then who had affirmed, that they
 would oppose the attempt of their colleagues, hav-
 ing seconded Cato's discourse with some arguments
 of the like nature; L. Valerius answered their ob-
 jections with the following speech. *If only private
 persons had appeared either against or for the proposal
 we have made to the People, I should have contented
 myself with the reason on both sides, have been silent,
 and quietly left the decision to your suffrages. But,
 as the Consul hath attacked it, a person highly worthy
 in his private capacity, and to oppose us, hath not
 only used his authority, which alone would have been
 of no small weight, but also an elaborate discourse of
 sufficient length, I find myself obliged to answer him.*

*And after all, he has exercised his vehemence much
 more to censure the conduct of the ladies, than to re-
 fuse our proposal. He hath used the odious terms,
 intrigue, cabal, and insurrection, in speaking of the
 sollicitation and intreaties which the ladies employ
 to induce you at this time, when we are entirely at
 peace and the Commonwealth happy and flourishing,
 to abolish a law made against them in the most un-*

(a) Et hominem improbum tolerabilior esset, quam erit
 non accusari tutius est, quam nunc, ipsis vinculis, sicut fera
 absolvi: & luxuria non meta bestia, irritata deinde emissa.

happy conjunctures of a dangerous and bloody war: A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.
but we (a) know M. Cato to be an orator, not only of great force, but sometimes even harsh and excessive in his expressions, though at bottom his genius and disposition are gentle and humane. For indeed, what have the ladies done so extraordinary or amazing, when in a cause that concerns them, they have appeared in publick to sollicite their judges? Is this the first time, that they have been seen to appear in great numbers? I shall use against you, Cato, only your own books* *De Originibus*. You tell us in them yourself, that they have often done so, and always for the good of the Commonwealth. I shall quote no examples: they are known by all the world, and you cannot deny that. But in all these cases, you will say, their motives were different. I know it; but it suffices for me to shew, that their present behaviour, which is imputed to them as a crime, is no new thing. And what have they done after all? (b) We must certainly be very nice and captious, if we take offence at the requests of the most illustrious ladies of the city, when even those of slaves are heard by their masters with patience.

I come now to the fact in question, in respect to which the Consul has affirmed, first that no law ought to be abolished; and secondly, that the law *Oppia*, instituted against the luxury of the women, is of all laws that which ought by no means to have any change made in it.

To reason right on this head, we must distinguish two kinds of laws. Some have been instituted not for

(a) Et M. Catonem oratorem non solum gravem, sed interdum etiam trucem esse scimus omnes, cum ingenio sit mitis.

* It is an history composed by Cato, the first books of which

treated of the origin and foundation of every city in Italy.

(b) Superbas mediis fidius aures habemus, si cum domini servorum non fastidiant preces, nos rogari ab honestis feminis indignamur.

*A. R. 557. a time but for ever, and for their perpetual and ge-
 Ant. C. 195. neral utility. These ought never to be annulled, un-
 less experience shews, that they are defective, or are
 rendered ineffectual by some change in the state. There
 are others, to which recourse has been only had in
 certain conjunctures, and on particular occasions :
 the latter are, to use the expression, mortal and tran-
 sitory, and ought to be void, when the reasons that
 made them necessary, subsist no longer. War often
 establishes laws, which had been made during peace,
 and peace such as war had given birth to; as a ship
 is differently managed during calms, and during
 storms.*

*The date of the law Oppia is too recent not to be
 known by all the world; every body knows its anti-
 quity to be not of above twenty years. If, before
 this law, the ladies lived during so great a series of
 years without any reproach; ought we to apprehend
 that after it is annulled, they will abandon themselves
 to licentiousness and irregularity. I agree, that if
 this law had been instituted to reform the luxury of
 the ladies, we might fear, that after it should be can-
 celled, they might give themselves up to it with still
 less reserve than before. But the very circumstances,
 in which it was passed, evidently shew what gave
 occasion for it. Hannibal was then in the heart of
 Italy. Victorious from Cannæ, he had already re-
 duced Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua. He threatened
 to besiege Rome with his triumphant army. Our
 allies had abandoned us. We had neither soldiers
 to recruit our armies, mariners to man our
 fleet, nor money to pay our troops. In a word, we
 were in want of all things. All the citizens carried
 their gold and silver into the public treasury. That
 of widows and wards was likewise employed for the
 occasions of the state. Can we imagine, that in such
 a time of calamity, the ladies could give themselves up
 to a luxury that required a law to reform it? Who
 does*

does not see, that it was the wants and misery of the public, which by obliging all private persons to devote their fortunes to the pressing necessities of the state, gave birth to this law, to be in force only as long as the reasons for its being established should require.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

And shall all orders of the State, and even every individual, experience the prosperity of the Commonwealth; and our women be the only persons excluded from sharing in the fruits of the public peace and tranquillity? We wear purple in the great offices and priesthoods: our children are adorned with it: we permit the magistrates of the colonies and municipal cities to wear it; besides many other officers of a still lower rank: and shall the Roman ladies be the only part of us, to whom purple habits are prohibited? May we make furniture of it, and shall our wives not be allowed to make a mantle of it?

Again, in respect to purple which fades and consumes, I conceive there might be a pretext, unjust no doubt, but however specious, with which the rigour of your refusal might be palliated. But even this pretext is defective in respect to gold, upon which, excepting the fashion, nothing is lost. And the permission of the use of that precious metal to the ladies is so far from being pernicious, that it is a resource for families, and even for the State, as you have already experienced upon very many occasions.

M. Cato says that no particular lady has any room to be jealous, as long as others are not more superbly dressed than herself. I own it: but they are all touched with indignation, when they see the wives of the Latines adorned with ornaments prohibited to them: when they see them glittering with purple and gold, and carried in pomp through the city in their chariots, whilst they follow on foot, as if they were inferiors in the cities of Latium, and not in Rome, where the supremacy of power and empire resides.

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Ant. C. 195.

If so degrading a distinction is capable of mortifying men, what impression do you think it must make on women, who have less force of mind, and who are extremely sensible to the slightest subjects of chagrin?

They cannot exercise the magistracies or priesthoods: the advantage of conquering, overcoming, and displaying the spoils of the enemy to the eyes of the citizens, is not for their sex. Neatness, dress, ornament, are their portion: and this is what constitutes their joy and glory; these are their riches, and treasure, and if I may say so, their little domestic empire. Wherefore should they be envied this slight satisfaction?

But after all, what do you apprehend from them? Though the law Oppia shall be abolished, will it not still be at your discretion to retrench what you think fit? Will they depend less upon you as wives, daughters, and sisters? As long as their relations live, they continue in subjection; and they themselves detest the liberty which they obtain by the death of their husbands and fathers. They had much rather, that their ornaments should depend on you, than on the law. And on your side, you ought to treat them as companions, not as slaves; and desire, that they should consider you as affectionate fathers and tender husbands, rather than as imperious masters.

I have not forgot the odious terms of sedition and revolt, used by the Consul, speaking of the concourse of the ladies in the city. Would not these expressions give us room to believe, that they would at this time, as the incensed People did formerly, seize the sacred mountain, or mount Aventine? Women are born for subjection, and they do not seek to shake off the yoke. This is a reason why we should endeavour to soften it, and to treat them with the more moderation, as they are less in a condition to resist our power.

The Law
Oppia is
repealed.

Liv. xxxiv

8.

After the law had been thus spoken for and against this day, the next, the ladies were seen dis-

dispersing themselves in still greater crowds in public. They went all in a body and besieged the houses of the Tribunes, who opposed the change they so much desired, and gave them no rest, till they promised to desist; and then the law *Oppia* was repealed by the suffrages of all the Tribes: which happened, as we have already said, twenty years after it had been instituted.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

Cato, as soon as this affair was concluded, set out for Spain, and there made war with the success we have related above.

I should now proceed to the war of the Romans with Antiochus, which will from this time be our great object, and which certainly merits our whole attention. But first I shall here relate some facts detached from the rest of our history, which I have omitted hitherto, to avoid interrupting the series of our narration.

Under the Consuls M. Porcius and L. Valerius, the 557th year of Rome the Sacred Spring had been observed as we have related. There had been some defect in the manner this had passed. The next year it was renewed. By the *Sacred Spring* is understood all the cattle brought forth in the months of March and April.

Sacred Spring.
Liv. xxxiv
44.

The Censors Sex. Ælius Pætus and C. Cornelius Cethegus nominated the Consul P. Scipio Prince of the Senate, who had already obtained that honour under the preceding Censors. These Censors also acquired great esteem from the Senate by the order they gave the Curule Ædiles to assign the Senators distinguished places at the Shews, at which they had hitherto been present mingled with the people.

Distinguished places for the Senators in the games.
Ibid.

It was in the *Roman Games* celebrated the 558th year of Rome, that the Senate was present for the first time at these shews separated from the People. This distinction like all other innovations, gave

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

occasion for much discourse, and was approved or condemned at Rome according to the different manner, in which People were affected with it. Some said, “ That at length a privilege was “ granted to the most august order of the Com- “ monwealth, which had long been its due.” Others on the contrary declared, “ that honour “ was done the Senate at the expence of the Peo- “ ple. That all differences made between the “ orders of the Commonwealth were so many at- “ tempts against unity and liberty. That during “ five hundred and fifty eight years the citizens “ had been present at the Shews confounded with “ each other. What new reason could the Sena- “ tors either have for shunning the company of “ the private citizens, or the rich for not sitting “ down by the poor? That it was a new species “ of pride and haughtiness, of which there was “ no example in any other Republic.” And lastly it is said, that Scipio Africanus himself repented the having supported this innovation with the authority of the Consulship. (a) So true it is, that all changes are odious in States, and that People always choose rather to adhere to their antient customs, unless they discover some evident abuse in them. (b) Cicero also observes, that not only the wisest and best inclined citizens of Rome disapproved this step of Scipio, but that he often blamed himself for it; and there is great reason to believe that it did not a little contribute to alienate the affection of the People from him, and to

(a) Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo, probabile est: veteribus, nisi quæ usus evidenter arguit, stare malunt. *Liv.*

(b) Ille, ut dicitur, non solum a sapientissimis hominibus, qui tum erant, verum

etiam à seipso accusatus est, quod cum Consul esset cum Ti. Longo passus est tum primum à populari consensu senatoria subsellia separari. *Fragm. Orat, pro C. Cornelia.*

change

change their favour, which hitherto had declared for him in so distinguished a manner, into a kind of hatred and aversion.

A disorder that was become very notorious, at the same time engaged the attention of the public. Usury had multiplied the debts of the citizens in an excessive manner. * Laws had been made at different times to keep it within bounds. But avarice had found the secret to elude them, in obliging those who had occasion for money to give bonds for the sums lent them in the name of allies, who were not subject to the laws of Rome. Usury, being become unrestrained by this fraud, crushed debtors with impunity. After enquiry had been made into proper remedies for this evil, it was at length decreed that the allies should come and declare the sums they had lent from a certain fixed time, with permission to try the disputes they might have with their creditors, either according to the Roman law, or that of the Latines, at their option. The Roman laws were more rigorous, than those of the Latines, against usury. But, these declarations having shewn to what excesses fraud had carried the debts of the citizens, M. Sempronius, one of the Tribunes of the People, proposed and caused a law to be passed, which decreed, that the allies should conform, in respect to loans of money to the Romans, to the laws in force at Rome.

Tacitus had reason to say, that notwithstanding the severe regulations, which were made from time to time (a) against usury, avarice, wonderfully fruitful in resources, always found new means to evade the rigor of the laws. In consequence, the

* These laws are spoken of elsewhere.

(a) Multis plebiscitis obviam itum fraudibus: quæ totiens

repressæ, miras per artes rursus oriebantur. Tacit. Annal. vi. 16.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195. year after the regulation we have just spoke of was decreed, many usurers had great fines laid upon them.

Rom. Hist.
Vol. III. We have observed in the Consulship of C. Marcius and Cn. Manlius II, the 398th year of Rome, that the interest of money lent was fixed at one *per cent. per annum, unciarium fœnus*: and ten years after at half, *semunciarium fœnus*. This seems difficult to believe: however, this is the sense of these Latine terms, according to the most learned interpreters.

The war of Macedonia had ended very opportunely for the Romans, who otherwise would have had two powerful enemies, Philip and Antiochus, upon their hands at the same time. For it was evident, that Rome would soon be obliged to enter into a war with the King of Syria, who made new conquests every day in Asia, and was preparing to enter Europe, with the resolution to assist Philip who still defended himself, and to prevent him from being crushed by the Romans.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

C. CORNELIUS.
Q. MINUCIUS.

Embassy of
the Rhodians to
Antiochus
King of
Syria.
Liv. xxxiii
20.

The Rhodians, on this occasion, gave the Roman People a shining proof of their fidelity, and zeal for the general good of Greece. For, without being terrified by the formidable war, which so bold a step might draw upon them, they sent Ambassadors to Antiochus as far as Nephelis, a promontory of Cilicia, to declare to him, that if he advanced any farther, they would put to sea against him with their fleet; not that they had any cause of enmity against him, but to prevent him from joining Philip, and that he should not oppose the design of the Romans to reinstate the liberty of Greece. Though the commission with which

which these Ambassadors were charged was highly of a nature to exasperate a Monarch so powerful as Antiochus, he stifled the emotions of his rage, and told them : “ That he would send his “ Ambassadors to Rhodes, with orders to renew “ the alliances which his ancestors and himself had “ made with that Commonwealth, and to assure “ it that neither itself nor its allies had any thing “ to apprehend from a Prince, who had no de- “ sign against them ; and that as to the Romans, “ it was evident, that he had no desire to break “ with them, from the embassy he had lately sent “ to them, and the obliging and honourable an- “ swers returned to him by the Senate.” For, indeed, the Ambassadors of whom he spoke, were lately returned from Rome, where they had met with the most favourable reception, and had been treated on their departure with all possible marks of amity and good-will. In which the Romans, according to the usual rules of policy, had acted conformably to the present state of their affairs : for they were still uncertain concerning the success of the war in Macedonia.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195.

L. FURIUS PURPUREO.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

A. R. 556.
Ant. C. 196.

When that war was terminated, the Romans assumed a new style. In the audience, which Quintus and the ten commissioners of the Senate gave several Ambassadors of the Kings and Republicks, those of Antiochus were introduced first. And upon their only giving them words to no effect, as they had done at Rome, they were told, not in ambiguous terms, as before, when they had Philip to fear, but in the clearest and most express manner, “ that he must abandon the cities of “ Greece and Asia, which had been in posses-
Answers of the commis- sioners of Rome to the Am- bassadors of Antia- chus.
Liv. xxxiii 34, 35.

A. R. 556. “ sion of Philip or Ptolomy, and must leave
 Ant. C. 196. “ those which were free in tranquillity. That, in
 “ particular, neither himself, nor his armies, must
 “ enter Europe.” When the assembly was dis-
 missed, three of those commissioners set out for the
 court of Antiochus.

Επιταγή of That Prince had persevered in his views. The
τῶν Ῥωμαίων three commissioners and a deputy sent from Rome,
πρεσβυτέρους found him at Lyfimachia, the principal city of the
 Liv. XXXII Thracian * Chersonesus, employed in rebuilding
 32, 40. it.

Polyb xvii They were attended by some deputies from the
 769, 770. Grecian cities of Asia. In the first interviews
 App. de which the Romans had with the King, every thing
 bell. Syr. passed in formalities, and reciprocal professions of
 p. 85, 89. amity. But when they came to treat of affairs,
 things had a very different aspect. L. Cornelius,
 who spoke, demanded, “ That Antiochus should
 “ restore to Ptolomy all the cities he had usurped
 “ from him: that he should evacuate all those
 “ which had belonged to Philip, and which he
 “ had surprized whilst the King of Macedonia
 “ was employed against the Romans; it not
 “ being just that he should reap the fruits of a
 “ war, which had caused the latter so many fa-
 “ rigues and dangers, that he should leave the
 “ Grecian cities of Asia that enjoyed their liberty
 “ at peace. He added, that the Romans were
 “ much surprized, that Antiochus had entered
 “ Europe with two numerous land and sea armies,
 “ and that he was repairing the city of Lyfima-
 “ chia: enterprizes, which could have no pur-
 “ pose but to attack them.”

Antiochus answered all this article by article.
 “ First, Ptolomy was going to be his son-in-law,
 “ and that he should have satisfaction, when the

* *A Peninsula of Rumania in Turkey in Europe.*

“ marriage, which was already concluded, took
 “ effect. That as to the Grecian cities, which de-
 “ manded to retain their liberty, it was from him,
 “ and not from the Romans, they were to hold
 “ it. As to Lyſimachia, he ſaid that he rebuilt
 “ it for a place of reſidence for his ſon Seleucus:
 “ that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was a
 “ part of it, were his; that they had been con-
 “ quered from Lyſimachus by Seleucus Nicator
 “ one of his anceſtors, and that he came thither as
 “ to his own inheritance. As to Aſia, and the
 “ cities he had taken from Philip, he did not
 “ know by what title the Romans pretended to
 “ diſpute the poſſeſſion of them with him. That
 “ he deſired them to intermeddle no more in the
 “ affairs of Aſia, than he did in thoſe of Italy.”

A. R. 556.
 Ant.C. 196.

The Romans having demanded, that the deputies from Smyrna and Lampſacus ſhould be introduced, they had audience. They ſpoke in ſo free a manner as highly exaſperated Antiochus, and he cried out in a paſſion, that he did not refer thoſe affairs to the arbitration of the Romans, but accepted the Rhodians for judges. The aſſembly ſeparated in diſorder; none of the parties being ſatisfied, and every thing tending to an open rupture.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
 M. PORCIUS.

A. R. 557.
 Ant.C. 195.
*Return of
 the ten
 commiſſio-*

When the ten commiſſioners, ſent to regulate the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome, and had given an account of their commiſſion, they informed the Senate, “ that they muſt expect and
 “ prepare for a new war, ſtill more dangerous than
 “ that they had lately terminated. That Antio-
 “ chus had entered Europe with a ſtrong ſea and
 “ land-army. That upon a falſe report of Pto-

*ners to
 Rome.
 They ſhew,
 that it is
 neceſſary
 to prepare
 for a war
 with An-
 tiochus.*

Liv. xxxiii

“ lomy’s 44.

A. R. 557. " Iomy's death, he had already set out to seize
 Ant. C. 195. " Egypt, without which Greece would at this
 " time have been the theatre of war. That the
 " Ætolians, a restless people, and very-ill-inclined
 " to Rome, would not continue long in peace."

Hannibal becomes suspected by the Romans.
 Liv. xxxiii 45. Another affair no less serious engrossed the Romans, and gave them just cause of apprehension: it regarded Hannibal. He had continued quiet at Carthage during six years from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans, and had filled the first offices in the State. During that time he had undertaken, and effected, a reformation in the administration of justice and the revenues. Peace and civil affairs were become a new scene of action for him, in which he shewed talents not inferior to those, which have made us hitherto admire him in war; and such as argued him one of those superior geniuses, born to excel in all things. The particulars of these facts may be seen in the first volume of the Antient History.

This double reformation introduced in the government, occasioned great outcries against Hannibal. " His enemies wrote to the principal persons, and their friends, at Rome perpetually, " that he held secret intelligence with Antiochus " King of Syria; that he often received couriers " from him, and that that Prince had underhand " sent trusty persons to him to concert measures " for carrying on the war he meditated. (a) That " he was of a fierce, insuperable disposition, like " those wild beasts, that it is impossible to tame. " That he complained, that Carthage was enervated in idleness, and in a manner dozed in

(a) Ut feras quasdam nunquam mitescere, sic immitem, implacabilem ejus viri animum esse. Marcescere otio situque civitatem, queri eum, & imper-

tia sopiri [*this word has been supplied for operis, which conveyed no sense*] nec, sine armorum sonitu, excitari posse. Liv.

" inaction.

“ inaction. That only the sound of arms could
 “ rouse them from their stupefaction, and restore
 “ them to their antient vigour.” These discourses
 were hearkened to at Rome ; and what had passed
 in the last war, of which he had been almost the
 sole author and promoter, made them very pro-
 bable.

Scipio always strongly opposed the violent re-
 solutions some were for taking upon this head ;
 representing, that it was below the dignity of the
 Roman People to lend their name to the hatred
 and accusations of Hannibal’s enemies, to sup-
 port their unjust prejudices with their authority,
 and inveterately to pursue him in the bosom of his
 country, as if it had not sufficed for the Romans
 to have overcome him in the field sword in hand.
 Notwithstanding remonstrances so wise and so full
 of humanity, the Senate nominated three deputies,
 and instructed them to carry their complaints to
 Carthage, and to demand, that Hannibal should
 be delivered up to them. When they arrived
 there, though they covered their voyage with a dif-
 ferent pretext, Hannibal perceived, that he only was
 aimed at. He used frequently to say, that the
 Romans had given the Carthaginians peace to
 make a war upon him alone, which would end
 only with his life. He therefore resolved to com-
 ply with the times ; and after having taken all the
 measures necessary to his retreat, he appeared
 great part of the day in the public place, to avoid
 giving any suspicion. In the evening, he quitted
 the city with two domesticks, who knew nothing
 of his design, arrived on the coast of the sea, and
 escaped in a vessel, which he had caused to be pro-
 vided secretly, (a) deploring the fate of his coun-
 try more than his own.

A. R. 557.
 Ant. C. 195.

Deputies sent to Carthage to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up.
 Liv. xxxiii
 47.

Hannibal quits Carthage and escapes.
 Ibid. 47:

(a) Sæpius patriæ, quam suos eventus miseratus. *Liv.* Græ-
novius has substituted suos to suorum.

A. R. 557.
Ant. C. 195. The Roman Ambassadors being introduced into the Senate of Carthage, represented, “ that
“ they were well informed at Rome, that it was
“ principally at Hannibal’s sollicitation, Philip
“ had made war upon the Roman People. That
“ the same Hannibal incessantly sent letters and
“ couriers to Antiochus with the same view, and
“ that he would never rest till he had kindled the
“ flames of war throughout the universe. They
“ added, that if the Carthaginians desired to con-
“ vince the Roman People, that the public coun-
“ cil had no share in all these intrigues, they ought
“ not to suffer them to pass with impunity.” The
Carthaginians answered, without hesitating, that
they were disposed to do all that the Romans
should think just and reasonable.

*Hannibal
goes to
Antiochus
at Ephe-
sus.
Liv. xxxiii
48.*

But Hannibal was no longer in their power. He landed at Tyre, the foundress of Carthage, where he was received as into another country. After having staid there some days, he set out for Antioch, which the King had lately quitted; after whom he went to Ephesus. The arrival of a General of such merit and reputation gave him great pleasure, and did not a little contribute to determine him in respect to the war against the Romans: for hitherto he had alway seemed uncertain and fluctuating in respect to the choice he should take.

*Discourse
of a philo-
sopher
in the
presence of
Hannibal.
Cic. de
orat. ii. 75.*

It was in this city that a philosopher, who passed for the finest speaker in Asia, called Phormio, had the imprudence to talk a great while in the presence of Hannibal upon the duties of a General of an army, and upon the rules of the art military. The whole audience was charmed with his eloquence. As the Carthaginian Captain was pressed to give his opinion, offended at the arrogance of a philosopher, who had taken upon him to
give

give lessons upon the subject of war to Hannibal: A. R. 557.
Ant.C. 195.
(a) *I have, said he, seen many doating old men in my life, but never saw so great a dotard as Phormio before.*

L. CORNELIUS.

Q. MINUCIUS.

A. R. 559.
Ant.C. 193.

On the side of Antiochus and the Romans, Conference
great preparations were made for an approaching between
war. Ambassadors came to Rome from all the Quintius
States of Greece, a great part of Asia minor, and and the
from several Kings. They had an immediate Ambassa-
and favourable audience of the Senate: but, as dors of An-
the affair of Antiochus required much discussion, tiobus
it was referred to Quintius and the ten commissio- without
ners, some of whom had already conferred with effect.
the King either in Asia, or at the city of Lyfi- Liv. xxxiv
machia. 37.

The dispute was warm on both sides. The King's Ambassadors, on the proposals made to them by Quintius, declared, " that they were strangely
" surprized, that their master having sent them
" solely to make an alliance with the Romans,
" they should take upon them to give him the
" law, and to prescribe to him what cities he
" should keep, and what abandon. That they
" might act in that manner with Philip, whom
" they had granted peace, after having defeated
" him, and not with Antiochus, with whom they
" had never been at war."

Quintius, far from abating any thing of his first proposals, explained himself more precisely, and said: " That he had two things to propose
" to them, without one of which they might in-

(a) Respondisse fertur: multos se deliros senes sæpe vidisse; sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret, vidisse neminem.

A. R. 559. " form the King, that he must not expect the
 Ant. C. 193. " amity of the Romans. The first is, that if he
 " would not have us intermeddle with what re-
 " gards Asia, he must on his side absolutely re-
 " nounce Europe. The second, that if he re-
 " fuses to keep within the bounds of Asia, and is
 " determined to extend his sway into Europe, he
 " ought not to think it strange, that the Romans
 " believe themselves also in the right to retain
 " the friends they have already in Asia, and even
 " to make new ones there."

Hegeſianax, who ſpoke for the King, replied,
 " That there was an enormous difference between
 " depriving Antiochus of the cities of Thrace
 " and the Chersonesus, which his ancestors had
 " poſſeſſed in right of conqueſt, and excluding
 " the Romans from entering Asia, where they
 " had never poſſeſſed an inch of land. That the
 " King, their maſter, was deſirous to make an
 " alliance with the Romans, that might do him
 " honour, and not a treaty that might reflect
 " ſhame upon him."

Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after
 much diſcourſe and many replies, gave his final
 answer to the King's Ambaſſadors, " That the
 " Romans perſiſted in the reſolution they had
 " taken of giving liberty to the Grecian cities of
 " Asia, as they had done to thoſe of Europe : that
 " they ſhould conſider, whether this condition
 " ſuited Antiochus." They answered, " that
 " they neither had the will nor the power to ac-
 " cept any condition, that tended to depriving
 " Antiochus of any part of his dominions." The
 conference ended without any thing being con-
 cluded.

The next day, Quintius introduced all the Am-
 baſſadors of Greece and Asia into the Senate, and
 after having informed them of all that had paſſed
 on

on both sides in the conference, he directed each of them to tell those who sent them, “ that the Roman People were determined to defend their liberty against Antiochus with the same zeal and courage, as they had evidenced against Philip, and that he was in hopes to do it with the same success.” The Ambassadors of Antiochus conjured the Senate, “ to precipitate nothing in an affair of that importance; to give the King time to reflect; and to do so themselves on their side, before they proceeded to a resolution, which would disturb the tranquillity of the universe.” Nothing was yet determined; and the same ambassadors were deputed to the King as had conferred with him at Lyfimachia, namely Sulpicius, Villius, and Ælius.

They were scarce set out, when Charthaginian Ambassadors arrived at Rome, and informed the Senate that Antiochus, at Hannibal’s instigation, was certainly making preparations for a war. This news gave the Romans some disquiet, and made them apprehend, that the Carthaginians also, allured by the example of their principal citizen, might resume arms. Hannibal, as has been said already, had retired to Antiochus. That Prince received him with abundance of kindness and distinction, expressed all possible esteem for him, and did him all manner of honours as a Captain of singular merit, who by his counsels, and reputation only, might be of great service to him in the design he meditated. Hannibal’s opinion then in which he always persisted, was, “ that it was necessary to carry the war into Italy. That by that means the enemy’s country would furnish them with troops and provisions. That if that country was left in peace, and the Romans suffered to make war abroad, there was no State, nor King, capable of withstanding them.

*Antiochus
concerts
measures
with Han-
nibal for
the success
of the war.
Liv. xxxiv
60.*

A. R. 559. " In a word, that Rome could only be conquer-
 Ant.C. 193. " ed in Rome itself." He asked only an hundred galleys, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. He declared, " that with this fleet he
 " would first go to Africa, where he was in hopes
 " of engaging the Carthaginians to join him ;
 " and that if he did not succeed, he would go directly to Italy, where he should find means to
 " give the Romans employment enough. That
 " it was necessary, that the King should go to
 " Europe with the rest of his troops, and that he
 " should stop in some part of Greece, without
 " going thither yet, and always keeping himself
 " in a readiness to go, thereby to give the Romans continual alarms." The King relished this project extremely at first ; and it was indisputably the best choice he could make.

*Hannibal
 endeavours
 in vain to
 make his
 country
 take arms
 against the
 Romans.
 Liv. xxxiv
 61.*

Hannibal believed it necessary to prejudice and prepare the friends he had at Carthage, in order to make them the readier to come into his views. Besides that letters are little safe, they are not sufficiently explanatory, nor do not enter enough into particulars. He therefore sent a trusty person, and gave him his instructions. His name was Ariston, a native of Tyre. He was no sooner arrived at Carthage, than the reason of his coming was suspected. Spies were placed upon him, he was watched, and at last measures were taken to seize him. But he prevented them, and escaped in the night, after having caused to be affixed over the very chair, where the magistrate sat every day, a writing in which were these words in large characters ; THE ORDERS WITH WHICH ARISTON WAS CHARGED, WERE NOT TO APPLY TO ANY CITIZEN IN PARTICULAR, BUT TO THE SENATORS IN GENERAL. The Senate judged it proper to send Ambassadors to Rome, to inform the Consuls and Senate, of what had passed on this

this occasion, and at the same time to complain of the injuries the Commonwealth of Carthage had received from Masinissa. A. R. 559.
Ant. C. 193.

That Prince had also sent Ambassadors to Rome. Accordingly the Senate, after having heard the reasons of both parties, nominated deputies, at the head of whom was Scipio Africanus, to terminate the affair upon the spot. The question was concerning a country called *Emporia*, situated round the smaller Syrtis. That country was extremely fertile. The city of Leptis alone paid the Carthaginians a talent (a thousand crowns) as a tribute daily. The deputies returned without having decided any thing, undoubtedly considering, that neutrality as more suitable to the present situation of affairs, than a determination, which could not but have discontented one side or the other. Wherefore then did the Senate make themselves arbitrators of the difference, and why did they assume the quality of judges? Such a policy does them no honour. That illustrious body began to adhere with little sincerity to the rules of strict justice, when contrary to the interest of the State, and it became a custom with them not to be so scrupulous in that point, as they had been in earlier times. Difference between Masinissa and the Carthaginians left undetermined. Liv. xxxiv. 62.

C. Cornelius Cethegus, one of the two Censors, closed the *Lustrum*. The number of the citizens were found to amount to an hundred, or more probably to two hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four. Lustrum closed. Liv. xxxv. 9.

This same year the ardor of the candidates for attaining the Consulship was greater and more excessive than ever. The most distinguished and most powerful persons of the two orders stood for it. But those who drew upon themselves the most attention of the citizens, were L. Quintius Flamininus, who had commanded the fleet in Greece, Strong canvassing for the Consulship. The credit of Quintius carried it against that of Scipio Africanus. Liv. xxxv. 10.

A. R. 519.
Ant. C. 193.

and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica the son of Cneus, who had done such great actions in Spain. They were both Patricians by birth. What divided the suffrages most, was the credit and favour of their * brothers, (*fratres*) the two greatest Generals of their time. Scipio Africanus had acquired a more shining degree of glory, but for that reason more exposed to envy; the reputation of Quintius was more recent, and he had triumphed this year. (a) To which we may add, that the first had always been in the sight of the citizens during ten years, which familiarity usually lessens the consideration people have for great men, as Cicero observes in his oration for Muræna. Besides which, since his having conquered Hannibal, the People had conferred a second Consulship, and the Censorship, upon him. A last reason, which however Livy passes over in silence, might have greatly alienated the Plebeians against him, was the new custom introduced in his second Consulship, and authorized by him, of giving distinguished places to the Senators in the shews. The favour, and credit of Quintius had still the force of novelty; time, to use the expression, not having faded its bloom and lustre. Since his triumph he had neither asked any thing, nor received any reward. He observed to the People that he solicited, not for a cousin, but a brother, who had been Lieutenant and second in the war so gloriously terminated, and who had acted against the enemies of the Commonwealth by sea, and at the same time that he on his side had acted against them by land. For

* Scipio was only cousin german to Scipio Nasica the candidate. Cousin germans were called in Latin, *fratres patruales*, and own brothers, *fratres germani*.

(a) *Ista nostra assiduitas, servi, nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidium quantum satietatis — Utrique nostrum desiderium nihil obfuit.* *Pro Mur. 21.*

these reasons the preference was given to an unworthy person, as will appear in the sequel, over a competitor, who was presented by Scipio Africanus his cousin german, and by the whole family of the Scipios, in an assembly held by a Consul of the Cornelian house, of which the Scipios were a branch ; and who besides had the glorious recommendation of the whole Senate, who in appointing him to receive the mother of the gods into the city, had declared him the most worthy man of the Commonwealth. Scipio Africanus could not even obtain the office of Plebeian Consul for C. Lælius, whom he also supported with his recommendation. Quintius had Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus for colleague.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C. 193.

S E C T. III.

The Ætolians send Ambassadors to Nabis, Philip, and Antiochus, to induce them to take arms against the Romans. Nabis begins the war. Roman Ambassadors to Antiochus. Conversation between Scipio and Hannibal. Interview of Villius with the King, and then with his minister. Antiochus holds a great council upon the war with the Romans. Hannibal enters into an eclaircissement with Antiochus, and is favourably heard. Return of the Ambassadors to Rome. Deputies sent into Greece. Expedition of Philopæmen against Nabis. Thoas is sent by the Ætolians to Antiochus, and presses him to come to Greece. Quintius undeceives the Magnesians ; they continue more attached than ever to the Romans. General assembly of the Ætolians, in which, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Quintius, Antiochus is called in to deliver Greece. Perfidious enterprize of the Ætolians against three cities. Death of the tyrant Nabis. Antiochus meditates going to Greece.

Thoas makes him conceive jealousy of Hannibal. Antiochus goes to Europe. Speech of that Prince in the assembly of the Ætolians. He is declared Generalissimo. He makes an ineffectual attempt upon Chalcis. Assembly of the Achæans. Speech of Antiochus's Ambassadors. Speech of the Ambassador of the Ætolians. Quintius's answer. The Achæans declare against Antiochus. That Prince makes himself master of Chalcis and of all Eubæa.

A. R. 559.
Ant.C. 193.
*The Ætoli-
ans send
Ambassa-
dors to
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Antiochus,
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them to
take arms
against the
Romans.*
Liv. xxxv.
12.

ROME at that time had no greater enemies than the Ætolians. Thoas, who was then their supreme magistrate, incessantly animated them, by representing with heat and passion the contempt the Romans had conceived for them, since the victory gained over Philip, in which the Ætolians how ever had a great share. His remonstrances had the desired effect. In a general assembly held at Naupactus, Damocritus was deputed to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus Thoas's brother to Antiochus, with particular instructions to each of those Princes, but all tending to the same end, that is, to engage them all, though by different motives, to declare against the Romans.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta,
 “ that the Romans had entirely maimed his
 “ power by depriving him of the maritime cities,
 “ as it was from them he had his ships, troops,
 “ and seamen. That shut up in a manner within
 “ his walls, he had the grief to see the Achæans
 “ reign throughout Peloponnesus. That he
 “ would never have such an occasion as offered at
 “ present for recovering his former power. That
 “ the Romans had no army in Greece; that he
 “ might easily seize Gythium, which was very
 “ commodious; and that the taking of such a
 “ city

“ city as that would not seem an occasion of suffi-
 “ cient importance for transporting the Roman
 “ legions into Greece.”

A. R. 559.
 Ant. C. 193.

Nicander had still stronger motives for anima-
 ting Philip, who had been reduced from a much
 more exalted state, and from whom more had
 been taken than from the tyrant. “ Besides this
 “ he enlarged upon the antient glory of the Kings
 “ of Macedonia, and the Universe conquered by
 “ their arms. He added that there was no risque
 “ in the choice he proposed to him. That he did
 “ not ask him to declare himself before Antio-
 “ chus was arrived in Greece with his army. And
 “ if you alone, continued he, without the aid of
 “ Antiochus, have with your own forces sustained
 “ war against the Romans and Ætolians united
 “ together, how will the Romans resist you now,
 “ when you have Antiochus and the Ætolians for
 “ allies? He did not forget the circumstance of
 “ Hannibal, the native enemy of the Romans,
 “ and who had killed them more Generals and
 “ soldiers than they now had left.”

Dicæarchus moved Antiochus another way.
 “ He above all insinuated, that in the war against
 “ Philip the Romans had the advantage of the
 “ defeat of that Prince, but that the honour of
 “ the victory had been entirely due to the Æto-
 “ lians. That they alone had opened them an
 “ entrance into Greece, and that they had enabled
 “ them to defeat the enemy, by lending them
 “ their forces. He made a long enumeration of
 “ the infantry and cavalry with which they should
 “ supply him, as well as of the fortresses and sea-
 “ ports of which they were masters. As to Phi-
 “ lip and Nabis, who were not present to gainsay
 “ him, he declared as boldly as if he had been
 “ commissioned by them, that they were resolved
 “ to join him, and to take the first occasion that

A. R. 559. " should offer to recover what they had lost in the
 Ant. C. 193. " preceding war."

Such were the endeavours of the Ætolians, to excite enemies on all sides against Rome. The two Kings however did not proceed to do any thing at that time, and he who afterwards entered into their party, determined to do so slowly.

*Nabis be-
 gins the
 war.
 Liv. xxxv.
 13.*

As to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime places, to induce them to revolt. He brought over many of the principal persons by presents, and secretly made away with those whom he found inflexibly attached to the Romans. Quintius, on leaving Greece, had directed the Achæans to be upon their guard for the defence of the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty, which he had made with the Romans, and to exhort him not to break a peace, he had demanded and desired with so much ardour. At the same time they sent aid to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged, and Ambassadors to Rome to give an account of all that passed.

*Roman
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Antiochus did not declare yet, but he took measures secretly for the great design he meditated. I have said before that the Romans had sent Sulpicius, Ælius, and Villius, as Ambassadors to that Prince. They were ordered to go first to Eumenes. Accordingly they repaired to Pergamus, the capitol of his kingdom. They found him extremely desirous, that war should be declared against Antiochus, because concluding his overthrow inevitable, he was in hopes of deriving great advantages from it.

Sulpicius, being left sick at Pergamus, Villius, who had been informed, that Antiochus was carrying on a war in Pisidia, repaired to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had many con-
 versations

versations with him, in which he endeavoured, but ineffectually, to persuade him, that he had nothing to fear from the Romans. But he succeeded better, in case that was his design, in rendering him suspected to the King. In making the Carthaginian frequent visits, and professing great amity for him, he gave Antiochus a distrust of him, as we shall soon have occasion to observe.

Livy cites historians, who related, that Scipio Africanus was one of these Ambassadors, and that it was he, who had the conversations with Hannibal, of which I have just spoke. He gives us one of them, after these authors, circumstantially enough, and tells us, *that Scipio having asked Hannibal, whom he judged, that they ought justly to consider as the greatest of Generals, the Carthaginian replied, Alexander the Great; because with a small number of Macedonians he had defeated armies of innumerable troops, and had led his victorious soldiers to the extremities of the Universe with as much ease, as if he had only travelled for his pleasure. And whom, continued Scipio, do you rank next to Alexander? Pyrrhus, said Hannibal. It was he, who first taught the art of incamping and choosing posts well, and of placing bodies of troops in such a manner as to be always capable of sustaining each other on occasion. Besides which, no man ever had so much address as that Prince in conciliating People to his interests; which talent he possessed in so high a degree, that entirely stranger as he was, the states of Italy preferred his government to that of the Romans, who had so long held the first rank in their country. Lastly, resumed Scipio, I desire to know to whom you give the third place. Why that, replied Hannibal, I think I may venture to give myself. Yourself, said Scipio smiling! And what would you have said if you had conquered me? In that case, said Hannibal, I should boldly have placed myself above Alexander and*

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A. R. 559.
Ant. C. 193.

Conversa-
tion be-
tween
Scipio and
Hannibal.
Liv. xxxv.

14

A. R. 559.
A.D.C. 193.

Pyrrhus, and all the great captains of whom we have any knowledge. (a) Scipio was struck with this subtle answer, which conveyed a refined praise he did not expect. For Hannibal seemed in it to give him the preference to all others, and to leave him apart as a General, with whom none were comparable. Livy does not give us this conversation as certain; and there are reasons to suspect it.

Interview of Villius with the King, and then with his minister.

Liv. xxxv.
15—17.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired after having terminated the war with the Pisidians. Their interview passed in disputes little different from those, which the King's Ambassadors had before with Quintius at Rome. These conferences were interrupted by the news that Prince received at this time of his eldest son's death, who was universally regretted. Villius, to avoid importunity at a time of mourning and sadness, returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpicius perfectly recovered. The King sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which terminated in reciprocal complaints, after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

Antiochus holds a great council concerning the war with the Romans.

Liv. xxxv.
17, 18.

As soon as they were gone, Antiochus held a great council upon the present affairs, in which they emulate each other in exclaiming against the Romans, knowing That to be a certain means for making their court to the Prince. “ Some enlarged upon the haughtiness of their demands, “ and thought it strange, that they should presume to impose laws upon the greatest King of Asia, as if they had to do with a conquered Nabis: nay, they had treated the latter with

(a) Et perplexum Punico astu responsum & improvisum assentationis genus Scipionem movisse, quod egregie se imperatorem velut inestimabilem secrevisset.

“ more

“ more favour, having left him master and sove- A. R. 559.
Ant. C. 193.
 “ reign in Lacedæmon his country, whilst they
 “ seemed to think it wrong that Smyrna and
 “ Lampfacus should be in the possession of Antio-
 “ chus. Others affirmed, that those cities were
 “ of too small importance for so great a Monarch,
 “ and were not worth his taking arms for their
 “ preservation : but that injustice always covered
 “ its ambitious pretensions at first with simple and
 “ modest demands, which it soon carried into the
 “ greatest excesses.” Alexander of Acarnania,
 whom the hope of a better fortune had induced to
 quit the court of Philip after the losses of that
 Prince, to go to that of Antiochus, over whom
 he had gained an entire ascendant, was of this
 council. As if the question had been to deliberate
 not whether war was to be made or not, but
 where and how it was to be made, “ he assured
 “ the King of certain victory if he went to
 “ Europe, and established himself in some part
 “ of Greece. He said with an air of assurance,
 “ that the Ætolians who possessed the centre
 “ of it would declare the first against the Ro-
 “ mans. That at the two extremities, Nabis on
 “ one side, would make all Peloponnesus take
 “ arms against them ; and on the other, that
 “ Philip still more discontented, and like those
 “ animals which chains render more furious,
 “ would not fail to arm also, on the first signal
 “ of war. That there was no time to lose, and
 “ that the decisive point was to seize advantage-
 “ ous posts, and to secure allies. He added, *Hannibal*
 “ that it was necessary to send Hannibal forth- *comes to an*
 “ with to Carthage, in order to embarrass and *explana-*
 “ employ the Romans.” *tion with*
Antiochus,

Hannibal, whom his conversations with Vil- *and is*
 lius had rendered suspected to the King, was not *heard fa-*
 called to this council. He had before perceived *vourably.*
Liv. xxxv.
on 19.

A. R. 559.
Ant. C. 193. on many other occasions, that the King was grown very cool in respect to him, and did not express the same confidence in him. He came to an explanation with him, in which he freely spoke his thoughts. Mentioning the earliest years of his youth, when he had sown eternal enmity to the Romans upon the altars of the gods: *It is that oath, said he, that hatred, that hath kept me in arms during thirty six years, that hath driven me out of my country in time of peace, and hath obliged me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If you frustrate my hopes, through the same hatred which will never expire but with my life, I will go wherever there are forces and arms to excite enemies against the Romans. For this reason I advise such of your friends, who make their court to you at my expence, to invent some other subject for their calumnies. I hate the Romans, and am hated by them. I call the manes of my father Amilcar and the gods to witness this. As long as you intend to make war with them, you may place Hannibal in the number and at the head of your friends. If any reason should incline you to peace, you must take the counsel of others, not of me.* Antiochus, moved with this discourse, seemed to restore Hannibal to all his friendship and confidence.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.

L. QUINTIUS.
CN. DOMITIUS.

*Return of
the Ambassadors to
Rome.*

Liv. XXXV.
20.

The Ambassadors, that had been sent to the King being returned to Rome, it was evident from their report of their commission, that a war with Antiochus was to be expected: but they did not judge that there was yet sufficient reason to arm against him. The case was not the same in respect to Nabis the tyrant of Sparta, who had openly broken the treaty, and who was actually attacking

attacking all the maritime cities of Laconia. The Prætor Atilius was sent to Greece with a fleet to defend the allies. A. R. 560. Ant. C. 192.

As Antiochus had not yet declared himself, the two Consuls had orders to repair to their provinces and went into the country of the Boii, which they separately ravaged. The Prætors had also good success in Spain. Ibid:

The wars which then employed the arms of the Commonwealth gave the Senators less disquiet, than that which they saw ready to break out on the side of Antiochus. Upon the different rumours that spread concerning his designs, they took different precautions for the security of the Commonwealth wherever he might attack it. They judged it also necessary to send four deputies into Greece, to observe the state of affairs upon the spot, to take care of the interests of the allies, and to continue them in their amity and attachment for the Romans. T. Quintius was of this number, and at the head of the rest. Deputies sent into Greece. Liv. xxxv. 23.

Nabis in the mean time attacked Gythium with all his forces, and enraged against the Achæans for having sent the besieged aid, he ravaged their country to be revenged of them. At that time the famous Philopæmen was their General, of whom I have spoke more at large in the ancient history. * They sent him against Nabis, whom he at first attacked with his fleet: but as he had little experience in naval affairs, he was defeated. He soon had his revenge by land, and gained a victory over Nabis, which however did not prevent him from making himself master of Gythium. Philopæmen, with design to force Nabis to quit his enterprize against Gythium, which he did not know the tyrant had taken already, advanced towards Sparta itself, as to besiege it. Nabis immediatly flew to the aid of his country.

A se-

Expedition of Philopæmen against Nabis.
Liv. xxxv. 25—30. Plut. in Philip. 363, 364. * Vol. VIII.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.

A second battle much more bloody than the former was fought; and so great a number of the Lacedæmonians were either killed or taken in it, that the tyrant had scarce the fourth part of his army left. He had retired during the battle into the city. Philopæmen, seeing that he shut himself up in it, and not believing himself in a condition to besiege it in form, passed the thirty following days in ravaging the lands of Laconia. Having thus reduced him to the last extremities, he retired home with great glory, and in a manner triumphant.

Thoas deputy from the Ætolians to Antiochus presses him to go to Greece.

During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent an embassy to Antiochus, to exhort him to enter Greece. Thoas the principal of those deputies represented to him “ that the Romans, having withdrawn their army “ from Greece, had left it without defence: that “ he could not have a more favourable occasion “ for seizing it: that he would find every thing “ disposed to receive him: and that he had only “ to shew himself to make himself master of the “ country.” This soothing picture, which they gave him of the affairs of Greece, struck him extremely, and scarce left him the least doubt in respect to the resolution he should take.

Quintius undeceives the Magnesians: they continue more firmly attached to the Romans than ever.

Liv. xxxv.
31, 32.

Quintius, in passing thro’ Greece with the other deputies, had found all the states in a very good disposition except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from the Romans by the spreading of a report, that they were determined to deliver up the city of Demetrias to Philip, which belonged to the Magnesians. Quintius had occasion for all his eloquence and all his address to remove the false prejudices they had conceived upon that head; and he happily succeeded. Eurylochus, the author of these seditious reports, not believing himself

self safe in the country, took refuge amongst the Ætolians. A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.

Thoas, who held the first rank in Ætolia, and who had been sent to Antiochus, was returned, and had brought Menippus with him, whom the King had sent as his Ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was called, those two persons had taken pains in concert to prepare and prejudice the People, by enlarging emphatically upon the King's armies by sea and land, his numerous troops of infantry and cavalry, the elephants which he had sent for from India, and especially (which was a powerful motive with the multitude) the immense sums of gold, which the King would bring along with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves. *General assembly of the Ætolians, in which notwithstanding the remonstrances of Quintius, Antiochus is called in to deliver Greece.*
Liv. xxxv, 33.

Quintius was punctually informed of all that was said and passed in Ætolia. Though every thing seemed desperate on that side, however, that he might have nothing to reproach himself, and to place the Ætolians still more in the wrong, he judged it proper to send some deputies from the Allies to the assembly, to put the Ætolians in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be on the spot freely to answer what the Ambassador of Antiochus might advance. He charged the Athenians with this commission, whom the dignity of their city and their antient amity with the Ætolians qualified better than any of the other states.

Thoas opened the assembly, with informing it that there was an Ambassador arrived from King Antiochus. He was made to enter. He began with saying, “ that it might justly have been de-
“ fired by the People of Greece and Asia, that
“ Antiochus had interfered sooner in their affairs,
“ and whilst Philip's power still subsisted: that
“ by that means each state had retained its rights,
“ and

A. R. 566. “ and the whole had not fallen under the Roman
 Ant. C. 192. “ yoke. But at present, said he, if you put the
 “ designs you have formed in execution, Antio-
 “ chus, with the assistance of the gods, will be
 “ able to reinstate the affairs of Greece in their
 “ antient splendor, in whatever bad situation they
 “ are at present.”

The Athenians, who had audience next, “ with-
 “ out saying a word of the King confined them-
 “ selves to putting the Ætolians in mind of their
 “ alliance with the Romans, and of the services
 “ Quintius had rendered all Greece, (a) conjur-
 “ ing them not to precipitate any thing in an af-
 “ fair of such importance as that actually in ques-
 “ tion. That bold resolutions taken with heat
 “ and vivacity, might at first sight have an agree-
 “ able aspect: that the difficulties of them would
 “ afterwards be seen in the execution, and that
 “ they seldom were happy in the event. That
 “ the Roman Ambassadors, and Quintius a-
 “ mongst them, were not far off. That whilst
 “ every thing remained undecided, it seemed
 “ more wise to try the method of a conference
 “ with antient allies, in order to have what they
 “ conceived their due restored, than precipitately
 “ to involve Europe and Asia in a war, which
 “ could not but have fatal consequences.”

The multitude, always fond of novelty, were
 entirely for Antiochus, and were even against
 admitting the Romans into the assembly. The
 oldest and wisest had occasion for their whole cre-
 dit to prevail, that they might be asked to be pre-
 sent in it. Quintius repaired thither, less with
 the hope of making impressions upon people so

(a) Ne temerè eam (Græ- calida, & audacia prima specie
 ciam) celeritate nimia confi- læta, tractatu dura, eventu
 licum everterent. Consilia tristia esse,

much prejudiced, than to convince all the world, A. R. 560
Ant. C. 192 that the Ætolians were the sole authors of the war upon the point of breaking out, and that the Romans only engaged in it against their will, and reduced by necessity. “ He began by putting
“ them in mind of the times when the Ætolians
“ entered into an alliance with the Romans;
“ slightly touched the different occasions in which
“ they failed in their engagements; and, after
“ having said something of what actually was the
“ reason or pretext for disputes, he confined him-
“ self to observing, that if they conceived they
“ had any just matter of complaint, it seemed
“ much more reasonable for them to make their
“ remonstrances to the Senate, who were always
“ ready to hear them, than out of wantonness
“ and caprice to stir up a war between the Ro-
“ mans and Antiochus, which would involve the
“ Universe and infallibly occasion the ruin of
“ those who should have prevented it.”

The event proved the truth of his representations, but they were ineffectual at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard favourably, and prevailed without delay, and even in the presence of the Romans, that Antiochus should be called in by a decree to deliver Greece, and to be the arbiter between the Ætolians and the Romans. Upon Quintius’s demanding a copy of this decree, Damocritus, who was then magistrate, forgot himself so far as to answer a man of so estimable a character with insolence, *that he had many other affairs upon his hands at present, and that in a short time he should go in person to carry that decree to Italy and to incamp upon the banks of the Tiber.* So great a degree of insatiation and phrenzy had then seized the whole nation, and even the principal magistrates of the Ætolians!

Quin-

A. R. 560. Quintius and the other Ambassadors returned to
 Ann. C. 192. Corinth.

Perfidious The Ætolians, till Antiochus arrived, and at
enterprize the same time not to seem to rely solely upon his
of the aid, took all possible measures on their side to
Ætolians change the present situation of Greece. Every
against body agreed, that in each state the principal per-
three cities. sons; and particularly the worthiest men, were in
 Liv. xxxv. the interest of the Romans, and thought them-
 34 & 37. selves happy in being their allies; but that the
 multitude, and those who were not satisfied with
 their present condition, were fond of a change.
 The Ætolians therefore, despairing of success by
 the method of persuasion, resolved to have re-
 course to stratagem and surprize; and they were
 so bold in one and the same day to form three
 astonishing designs: these were to seize Deme-
 trias, Chalcis, and Sparta, at once. Three of
 the principal citizens were severally appointed to
 execute these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, and by the as-
 sistance of Eurylochus's faction, who was then an
 exile, and at that time appeared at the head of the
 troops Diocles had brought with him, he made
 himself master of the place.

Thoas had not the same success at Chalcis.
 Those who were at the head of the Roman party,
 and at the same time of the city, having appre-
 hended the design of the Ætolians, kept them-
 selves so well upon their guard, that it was impos-
 sible to surprize them.

Murder The attempt against Sparta was much more
of Nabis. difficult. The question was to surprize the most
 Ibid. 35. suspicious of all mankind. Nabis had long sol-
 licited aid from the Ætolians. Alexamenes was
 placed at the head of a thousand foot. To these
 thirty horse were added, the flower of the youth,
 whom the magistrates commanded punctually to
 obey

obey the orders of their leader, whatsoever they might be. Alexamenes was received by the tyrant with great joy. Some days after, going abroad together into the country, the horse, in consequence of the orders they had received, fell upon Nabis, and killed him. Thus perished Nabis by treachery. Providence often makes use of one bad man to punish another. The crime of Alexamenes did not long pass unpunished. His first care was to regain the city immediately; in order to seize the palace, and the riches of the tyrant. Whilst himself and his troops were solely employed in this, he was killed himself by the citizens, who in the tumult had taken arms for their own defence.

Whilst the Ætolians were making all these motions, Antiochus was preparing to enter Greece. He was at a loss how to behave in respect to Hannibal. After the eclaireissement, of which we have spoke, which had, as it seems, stifled all his suspicions, he had determined to give him the command of part of his fleet to go to Africa, and raise troops there. But what havock does not flattery make in the courts and minds of Princes! The Ætolian Thoas used this method for removing Hannibal, whose credit with the King gave him umbrage. First he highly extolled the power of the Ætolians, who had made themselves masters of Demetrias; and after having dazzled and deceived many of the Greeks by the hyperbolical accounts he had given of the forces of Antiochus, he used the same artifice and the same falsity to swell the hopes and courage of the King. He gave him to understand that he was called in by all the states, and that they should no sooner perceive his fleet at sea, than they would all run with ardour to receive him.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.

Antiochus prepares for entering Greece. Thoas makes him jealous of Hannibal. Liv. xxxv. 42, 43.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.

He afterwards undertook to dissuade that Prince from his design of sending Hannibal to Africa, by representing to him, “ that it was not consistent
“ with prudence to divide his fleet, and still less
“ to give the command of it to Hannibal. That
“ he was an exile and a Carthaginian, to whom
“ his fortune and genius might suggest a thou-
“ sand different projects in a day. That besides,
“ the very reputation itself which he had acquired
“ in war, was too great for a meer lieutenant.
“ That the King himself ought to appear sole
“ Chief, to be General, and attract the eyes and
“ attention of the whole army upon himself alone:
“ whereas if Hannibal was employed, that
“ stranger only would have the glory of every
“ good success.” (a) There are no spirits, says Livy, more susceptible of jealousy, than those who have not a greatness of soul equal to their birth and degree: because in that case all merit becomes odious to them, as something foreign, in which they have no share. And this appeared evidently on the present occasion. This Prince had been taken by his blind side. A sentiment of jealousy, which is the sign and defect of little minds, extinguished all other thoughts and reflexions in him. He no longer set any value upon, or made any use of Hannibal. The event fully avenged the latter, and demonstrated what a misfortune it is for a Prince to open his heart to the mean suggestions of envy, and his ears to the poisoned discourse of flatterers.

Antiochus
goes to
Europe.
Liv. XXXV.

43.

(a) Nulla ingenia tam pro-
na ad invidiam sunt, quam
eorum, qui genus & fortunam
suam animis non æquant:
qui virtutem, & (or rather
ut) bonum alienum oderunt.

chines

chines of war. He arrived first at Demetrias, where he landed ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. These forces would hardly have sufficed, only to seize a defenceless country, and were far from being capable of sustaining the weight of the Roman power. As soon as the Ætolians were informed of the arrival of Antiochus, they assembled their whole nation, and passed a decree by which they invited him to repair to their assembly. Upon receiving it, the King went to Lamia, where it was held. He was received there by an infinite multitude of people, who filled the air with acclamations, clapped their hands, and gave themselves up to all the transports, that usually express extraordinary joy.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.

When he was introduced into the assembly without difficulty, the throng being so great, he began by excusing himself for coming with fewer troops than had been expected, intimating that such ardour was a proof of his zeal for their interests, as at the first signal they had given him, he had set out notwithstanding the bad season, and without waiting, till all things were in readiness: but that their expectation should soon be answered. That as soon as the season should be proper for navigating, they should see Greece covered with arms, men, horses, and all the sea-coasts blocked up with galleys. That he would spare neither expence, pains, nor danger, really to deliver Greece, and for giving the Ætolians the first rank in it. That with his numerous armies, convoys of all sorts would arrive from Asia: that all they had to do was to supply his army at present with whatever was necessary." (a) This

(a) Plus in oratione dignitati, quam, fidei, erat. Tacit. Annal. l. 11.

A. R. 560. discourse was more proper to dazzle the audience
 Ant. C. 192. by pompous professions, than to persuade them
 with an air of truth. After having spoke thus
 the King withdrew.

*He is de-
 clared Ge-
 neralissimo.
 Ibid. 45.* Such a beginning could not please much; and
 accordingly the wisest saw plainly, that Antiochus,
 instead of an effective and present aid as he had
 promised, gave them almost only very uncertain
 words, and distant and still more doubtful hopes.
 Sentiments in consequence were divided. Pheneas,
 who was then Prætor, was for having them only
 take Antiochus for mediator and arbitrator between
 them and the Romans, and not as Chief of the
 war: but Thoas carried the suffrages, and caused
 him to be declared Generalissimo. Thirty of the
 principal persons of the Senate were given him as a
 council, to deliberate with them, when he should
 judge it expedient.

*He makes
 an useless
 attempt
 against
 Chalcis.
 Liv. xxxv.
 46, 47.* The first matter consulted between the King
 and the Ætolians, was to know by what expedi-
 tion it was necessary to begin. It was judged pro-
 per that a new attempt should be made upon Chal-
 cis, and it was believed that to reduce that place
 required no great preparation nor efforts, and that
 it sufficed to use expedition. They therefore re-
 paired thither without loss of time, but not with
 many troops. Was the King ignorant, that in
 war the first successes determine the repute of arms
 for the sequel? When they were near the city, he
 let the principal persons of the Ætolians confer
 with the magistrates of Chalcis, who came out to
 meet them.

“ The Ætolians warmly exhorted them to en-
 “ ter into an alliance with Antiochus, but with-
 “ out renouncing that of the Romans. They said
 “ that Prince was come to Greece not to make
 “ war in it, but actually to deliver it, and not in
 “ mere words as the Romans had done. That no-
 “ thing

“ thing could be more for the interest of the
 “ States of Greece, than to be in alliance at the
 “ same time with the two powers, because the
 “ one would always defend them against the o-
 “ ther, and in consequence mutually keep each
 “ other in awe. That they might see, in case they
 “ did not take this resolution, to what they ex-
 “ posed themselves, the aid of the Romans be-
 “ ing remote, and the King present at their
 “ gates.”

Miction, one of the principal persons of Chal-
 cis, answered : “ That he could not conjecture
 “ for the deliverance of whom Antiochus had
 “ quitted his kingdom, and had come to Greece.
 “ That he knew no city, that had received a Ro-
 “ man garrison, that paid any tribute to Rome,
 “ or complained of being oppressed. That as
 “ for the Chalcidians, they had no occasion for a
 “ deliverer, because they were free ; nor for any
 “ defender, as they lived at peace under the pro-
 “ tection of the Romans. That they refused
 “ neither the amity of the King nor of the Æto-
 “ lians : but that that Prince and they could not
 “ give them a greater proof of their amity than
 “ to quit their isle, and retire. That they were
 “ fully determined, not only not to receive them
 “ into their city, but not to make any alliance
 “ with them except in concert with the Ro-
 “ mans.”

When this answer was reported to the King,
 who had remained on the shore near his ships, he
 chose to return for the present to Demetrias, not
 having brought a sufficient number of troops with
 him to attack the place by force. So weak and
 ill-concerted a step did him no honour, and was
 no good omen for the future.

A. R. 560.
Ant. C. 192.
*Assembly of
the Achæ-
ans.*
Liv. xxxv.
48.

They then turned a different way, and endeavours were used to bring over some of the States of Greece, and especially the Achæans. The latter gave the Ambassadors of Antiochus and the Ætolians audience at Æge, where their assembly was held, in the presence of Quintius Ambassador from the Romans.

*Speech of
Antiochus's
Ambassa-
dor.*
Ibid.

The Ambassador of Antiochus spoke first, (a) He was a vain man, as those generally are who live in the courts of Princes, and subsist by their favour; who fancied himself a fine speaker, and assumed an emphatical and dictatorial tone. He said, “That there was an innumerable body of
“cavalry passing the Hellespont to enter Europe,
“consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of
“archers, who from their horses, and even fly-
“ing, discharged their darts turning about. To
“this cavalry, which alone was capable of over-
“whelming all the forces of Europe joined toge-
“ther, he added an infantry still more numerous
“and formidable: Dahæ, Medes, Elymæans
“and Cadusians, names unknown and terrible.
“He affirmed, that there were not ports in Greece
“capable of containing his fleet, of which the
“right wing was composed of Tyrians and Sido-
“nians, and the left of Aradians and the Sidetæ
“of Pamphylia, nations incontestably the most
“skilful and expert of all others in naval affairs.
“That it was to no purpose to mention the im-
“mense sums the King was capable of furnishing
“for this war; all the world knowing that the
“kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold.
“That the other preparations of war might be
“judged of in the same proportion. That con-

(a) Is, ut plerique quos maria, terrasque inani sonitu
opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, verborum compleverat, *Liv.*

“ frequently

“ frequently the Romans would not now have to
 “ do with a Philip, or an Hannibal, the latter a
 “ private citizen of Carthage, the other confined
 “ within the narrow bounds of his kingdom of
 “ Macedonia; but with the potent monarch of
 “ all Asia, and part of Europe. That howe-
 “ ver, though he was come from the extremities
 “ of the east for the deliverance of Greece, he
 “ required nothing of the Achæans contrary to
 “ the faith, they believed they owed the Ro-
 “ mans their prior friends and allies. That he
 “ did not ask them to join their arms with
 “ his, but solely that they should remain neu-
 “ ter, without declaring for either one side or
 “ the other.”

A. R. 560.
 Ant. C. 192.

Archidamus, Ambassador from the Ætolians, *Discourse*
 seconded this discourse, “ adding, that the *of the Æ-*
 “ safest and most prudent choice the Achæans *tolian Am-*
 “ could take, was to continue mere spectators of *bassadors.*
 “ the war, and to wait the event in peace, with-
 “ out having any share in it, and without running
 “ any risque.” Then growing warm by degrees,
 he vented reproaches and injurious terms against
 the Romans in general, and personally against
 Quintius. “ He treated them as ingrates, who
 “ had forgot that they were indebted to the cou-
 “ rage of the Ætolians, not only for the victory
 “ gained over Philip, but for the safety of their
 “ army and General. For in a word, what func-
 “ tion of a General had Quintius discharged in
 “ the battle? That he had seen him employed
 “ in this battle only in consulting the auspices,
 “ sacrificing victims, and making vows, as if
 “ he acted in quality of an augur and priest;
 “ whilst himself had exposed his person, and life
 “ to the darts of the enemy to defend and pre-
 “ serve him.”

Ibid.

A. R. 560.

Anl. C. 192.

*Answer of
Quintius.*

Liv. xxxv.

49.

Quintius replied to this : “ That he well perceived, whom Archidamus had sought to please by his discourse. That convinced as he was of the perfect knowledge, which the Achæans had of the character of the Ætolians, who made all their bravery consist in words and not in actions, he had been at no pain about their esteem, but had thought only of being of some weight with the King’s Ambassadors, and by their means with the King himself, that if any could have been ignorant of the motives, which had formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the discourse of the Ambassador’s evidently shewed them, that nothing had passed from both but lies and boasts. That by making a parade of forces which they had not, they mutually deceived and fluffed each other with false promises and empty hopes : the Ætolians on one side boldly advancing, as you have just heard, that they and they alone defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans, and that they should draw over all the States of Greece to their party ; and the King, on the other, affirming that he was going to make innumerable armies of horse and foot march, and to cover the sea with his fleets.”

This, says Quintius, puts me in mind of an entertainment given me by a friend at Chalcis, who was a very polite man, and one that well knew how to make his guests welcome. Surprized at the quantity and variety of the dishes that were served up, we asked him, where he could possibly get so much game in the month of June ? This person, who was not vainglorious like these people, informed us laughing, that in reality all this seeming game was only pork differently seasoned, and served with different sauces. The thing is the same with respect to the King’s troops,

troops, of which so much has been boasted, and whose numbers have been magnified by great names. *Dabæ*, *Medes*, *Cadusians*, and *Elymeans*, all these are but one and the same people, that is to say, *Syrians*; and besides a nation of slaves, rather than soldiers, so base and servile are their souls. Can I not represent to you, *Achæans*, all the motions and expeditions of this great King, who now repairs to the assembly of the *Ætolians* to beg an aid of provisions, and money; and then presents himself before *Chalcis*, from whence he is obliged shamefully to retire, after having viewed the port of *Aulis* and the *Euripus* as the whole fruit of this extraordinary expedition? *Antiochus* hath injudiciously relied upon the empty promises of the *Ætolians*; and the latter, in their turn, have suffered themselves to be dazzled by the boasts of *Antiochus* and his ministers. This ought to teach you, *Achæans*, not to suffer yourselves to be surprized by their artifices, and to confide entirely in the faith of the *Romans*, of which you have so often made trial. I am amazed, that people venture to tell you, that the best you can do, is to continue neuter. This is a certain means; but it is to become the prey of the victor.

The deliberation of the assembly of the *Achæans* was neither long nor doubtful. The result was, that war should be declared against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*. According to *Quintius's* advice, they made five hundred men of the auxiliary troops set out immediately for *Chalcis*, and as many for the *Piræus*.

Antiochus was informed by his Ambassadors of his bad success in the assembly of the *Achæans*. To make himself amends, he made a new attempt against *Chalcis*, and approached it with a much greater body of troops than the first time. The faction contrary to the *Romans* prevailed, and the city

*Ant.C. 560.
A. R. 191.*

The Achæans declare against Antiochus. Liv. xxxv. 50.

Antiochus makes himself master of Chalcis and of all Eubæa. Liv. xxxv. 51.

A. R. 560. city opened its gates to him. The other cities
Ant. C. 192- of the island soon did the same ; and he made
himself master of all Eubœa (*now called Ne-
gropont*). He conceived it a great matter, to have
began the first campaign by the conquest and
reduction of so considerable an island. But what
conquest is that, where the victor has no enemy to
oppose him ?

 BOOK THE TWENTY THIRD.

 THE
 ROMAN HISTORY.

THIS book contains the space of three years, 561, 562, 563. It contains the war of the Romans with Antiochus, terminated by the conquest of Asia Minor, which acquired L. Scipio the surname of *Asiaticus*.

S E C T. I.

*Religious preparations for the war with Antiochus. Military preparations for the same. Departure of the Consul Acilius for Greece. The Senate's answer to the Ambassadors of Philip, Ptolomy, Masinissa, and the Carthaginians, who came to offer the Romans aid. Antiochus holds a council of war at Demetrias. Fine Speech of Hannibal, which is followed in nothing. Antiochus takes some cities of Thessalia. He marries a young woman of Chalcis, and passes the whole winter in feasting. The Consul Acilius arrives in Greece. Many cities surrender to him. Antiochus, destitute of all aid, retires into the strait of Thermopylæ. Considerable victory gained by the Consul Acilius over King Antiochus in the pass of Thermopylæ. Cato had a great share in this victory. Antiochus retires to Chalcis, and from thence to Ephesus. Cato carries
the*

the news of the victory to Rome. Acilius endeavours ineffectually to bring over the Ætolians by gentle methods. He besiege, Heraclea, and takes it after above a month's resistance. Philip besieges the city of Lamia. It surrenders. The taking of Heraclea determines the Ætolians to demand peace. The hard conditions prescribed by the Consul, disgust them. Acilius forms the siege of Naupactus. Quintius saves that city, which was upon the point of being reduced. Ambassadors from Philip to Rome. Hannibal awakens Antiochus from the security in which he continued at Ephesus. Victory at sea gained by Livius Admiral of the Roman fleet, over that of Antiochus, near the port of Corycus. L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius are elected Consuls.

A. R. 561.
Ant.C. 191.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO.

*Religious
prepara-
tions for
the war
with An-
tiochus.*

Liv. xxxvi
1.

Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.

AS SOON as the Consuls had taken possession of their office, the Senate ordered them to sacrifice victims of the great kind in the principal temples, and to implore the gods to grant the Senate and People of Rome their protection in the new war they were upon the point of undertaking. The auspices declared that the entrails of those victims foretold only happy events, that this war would terminate in victory, and extend the bounds of the empire farther than ever they had been before. The war in consequence was decreed against Antiochus by the Senate and People. The Consuls having drawn lots for their provinces, Greece fell to Acilius, and Italy to Cornelius; and of the Prætors, Hispania Ulterior fell to L. Æmilius Paulus, of whom we shall speak in the sequel with more extent. He commanded there in quality of Proconsul; for which reason Plutarch observes,

serves, he had twelve Lictors. Public prayers A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191. were decreed during two years: and solemn vows were made to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter during ten days, if the event of the war was favourable, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a disgrace would so religious, though blind, a paganism be to such Christian Generals as could be ashamed of piety and religion!

Neither was any thing omitted on the side of *Military* human care. The Prætor C. Livius, to whom *prepara-* the command of the fleet had fallen, had orders to *tions.* go to Greece as soon as possible, with thirty ships, *Ibid. 2.* which he kept in readiness, and to unite them with those, which he was to receive from Acilius. Six deputies were sent into Africa, three to Carthage, and three to Numidia, to procure corn to be transported into Greece, for which the Roman People were to pay. The same precautions were taken in Sicily and Sardinia. The care and preparations for this war engrossed every body so much, that the Consul P. Cornelius forbade by a decree all Senators and Magistrates of the * second class to remove above one day's journey from Rome. He also at the same time prohibited more than four Senators to be absent from the city at once. The Consul Acilius, to be wanting in nothing to the ceremonies prescribed, applied to the Fæciales, by order of the Senate, to know whether the war were to be declared by word of mouth to Antiochus, or it sufficed to apply to some one of his cities; and whether it was necessary to declare war separately against the Ætolians. The answer was, to the first point, that the thing was

* The magistrates of the first class were the Censors, Consuls, and Prætors: those of the second, the Ædiles, Questors, and Tribunes.

A. R. 561.
 Ant. C. 191.

indifferent; to the second, that the Ætolians had declared war themselves by the hostilities they had committed.

*Departure
 of the Con-
 sul Acilius.*

The Consul Acilius, after having made provision for every thing, and appointed the fifteenth of May for the rendezvous of his troops at Brundisium, set out some days before from Rome.

*Answers
 of the Se-
 nate to the
 Ambassa-
 dors of
 Philip,
 Ptolomy,
 Masinissa,
 and the
 Carthagi-
 nians, who
 came to
 offer the
 Romans,
 aid.
 Liv. xxxvi
 4.*

At the same time, Ambassadors from Philip King of Macedonia, and Ptolomy King of Egypt, arrived at Rome, whither they came to offer the Romans troops, money and provisions for the war they were going to begin. Those of Ptolomy brought before-hand a thousand pounds of gold in weight, and twenty thousand of silver. Those two Princes were thanked for their generosity and zeal; but their presents were not accepted. And as both offered to enter Ætolia with all their forces, in order to make a diversion in favour of the Commonwealth, the Senate expressed their gratitude to Ptolomy, but declined the offer. As to Philip, his Ambassadors were answered, that the Senate and People of Rome should be obliged to him, if he would second the Consul Acilius well.

Ambassadors also arrived from the Carthaginians, and King Masinissa. The former promised that their State should transport to the Consul's army five hundred thousand bushels of barley, and probably a greater number of bushels of wheat; but that is omitted in the text of Livy. They desired also that half this grain might be sent to Rome, and that the Senate would be pleased to accept of it as a present. They added, that Carthage would fit out a fleet, and man it at their own expence, and would pay down directly all the sums to the Roman People, that they were to discharge at different terms and in many years. The Ambassadors of Masinissa declared, that their

master would cause five hundred thousand bushels of wheat to be transported to the army in Greece, with three hundred thousand of barley; and to Rome three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley; and that he would send five hundred horse and twenty elephants to the Consul Acilius. As to the grain, both were answered, that the Romans would accept of it only upon condition of paying the value. The Carthaginians were thanked for their fleet, but only the ships were accepted, which they were to furnish in virtue of the treaty; and they were told, that only the sums they were to pay would be received, and that as they became due.

Antiochus in the mean time, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys, or in person, to enter into alliance with him, repaired to Demetrius, whither he had called a great assembly, to deliberate upon the operations of the campaign, which was upon the point of being opened. Hannibal, who had not been admitted to council during a long time, was called in to this. The first point brought upon the carpet, related to the Thessalians. The question was to know whether gentle means or force should be used for subjecting them. As opinions were much divided, Hannibal, who was desired to give his, made a speech by which he led the King, and all who were present in this council, from the occasion of this single point, which was their sole subject, into the general plan of war.

If, since our coming to Greece, said he, I had been consulted when the question was put concerning Eubæa, the Achæans and Bæotia, I should have given you the same counsel concerning those States, I now do in respect to the Thessalians. This is, that previously to every thing we should spare no pains to bring Philip and the Macedonians into our

A. R. 561.
Ant.C. 191.

Antiochus holds a council of war at Demetrius.
Liv. xxxvi. 6.

Fine speech of Hannibal, which is followed in nothing.
Liv. xxxvi. 1.

party

A. R. 561.
A. L. C. 191.

party upon any terms whatsoever. For, as to the other States, weak as they are in themselves, who doubts, though they should join us, but they would go over again to the Romans, as soon as they see their army in Greece? How much more advantageous therefore is it for us, to engage Philip in our alliance, who having once declared cannot go back?

Besides which, if Philip joins us, will the Romans be able to resist us, whilst we oppose them with the same forces, which gave them the victory over that Prince, I mean the Ætolians and Athamantes, to whose courage, every body knows, they were indebted for all their successes against Philip. That Prince supported the whole weight of the war at that time alone: whereas at present the two greatest Kings of the Universe, with all the forces of Asia and Europe, will act against a single People, who in the time of our fathers were scarce capable of making head against the King of Epirus only: and you know what the power of Pyrrhus was, compared with ours. For I do not mention the various successes of the war I made against them: those are not unknown to you.

But, somebody may say, is there any probability that Philip will enter into our league? Two things give me reason to hope so. First our common interests, that are the same on both sides, and really inseparable, which is the strongest tie of treaties and alliances: secondly, your discourse, Ætolians. For you are not ignorant, that Thoas your Ambassador, who is present, has always affirmed as a certain fact to whomsoever would hear him, that Philip was incensed to the highest degree, that the Romans, under the false appearance of a peace, had imposed the yoke of real slavery upon him.

But if, for reasons unknown to us, he should have changed his sentiments, and we shall not be able to persuade him to join us, at least let us use precautions

to prevent him from joining the enemy. Your son Seleucus, said Hannibal, addressing himself to the King, is at * *Lyfimachia*: order him to cross *Thrace* with his troops, and to ravage the frontier of *Macedonia*. The necessity of defending his own country, will not suffer Philip to march to the aid of the Romans.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

And this, great King, is what I think in respect to Philip. As to what concerns the general plan of the war, you know what have always been my sentiments. If I had been heard at first, the Romans had not now received advice at a great distance of the taking of *Chalcis* and the fort of the *Euripus*, but would have seen *Tuscany* and *Liguria* in flames, and, which is still more terrible to them than any thing, they would have seen *Hannibal* in the heart of *Italy*. I am therefore of opinion, that you should cause all your forces both by sea and land to come hither, with a great number of transports laden with provisions. For, though we are here but few in number with respect to the war we are undertaking, we are however too many for the small quantity of provisions the country can supply. When you have united all your forces, you will send part of your fleet to *Corcyra* (*Corfu*) in order to prevent the Romans from having a free passage by sea. You will also send another to the coast of *Italy* next *Sardinia* and *Africa*. You will advance yourselves to the sea-coast of *Illyricum* next *Epirus*, from whence you will be at hand either to defend *Greece*, or even to go to *Italy*, if your affairs make it necessary. These are my thoughts. I am not perhaps very able in any other war; but I must certainly have learnt from my good and bad successes, in what manner it is necessary to make war with the Romans. I can do no more than give you my counsels, and offer you my services. May the gods

* *A city of the Thracian Chersonesus.*

A. R. 561. *give success to the resolution you shall take, whatsoever*
 Ant. C. 191. *it be.*

The assembly could not at that instant but approve Hannibal's opinion; and it was really the only advice that could be given Antiochus in the present situation of affairs. He however followed it in nothing, except making Polyxenidas set out for Asia, to bring his fleet and troops from thence. As to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, the King's courtiers and flatterers dissuaded him against it, as they had done before, by representing to him, "that he could not fail of victory: that if he followed Hannibal's scheme, that captain would have the whole glory of it, as he had formed it. That it was necessary the King should have the whole glory of successes, and in order to that, that himself should form another plan, without regard to that of the Carthaginian." What advice was this, to reject a good plan because it was another's! Nero was reproached with this wrong turn of mind, (a) who, in order to seem not to want counsel, always chose to act contrary to that given him, at the hazard of choosing the worst. And here we see in what manner the best counsels become ineffectual, and the greatest empires are ruined. God in order to this hath only to suffer bad advice to prevail in the deliberations of Princes.

Antiochus
takes some
cities of
Thessalia.
 Liv. xxxvi
 8—10.

The King, having joined his troops with those of the allies, made himself master of Pheræ, and of some other cities in Thessalia. He was obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bæbius the Roman Prætor having sent timely aid to it. Antiochus retired to Demetrias.

(a) Ne alienæ sententiæ indigens videretur, in diversa ac

deteriora transibat. *Tacit. Annal. xv. 10.*

From

From thence he repaired to Chalcis, where he fell excessively in love with the daughter of the person, in whose house he resided. Though that Prince was almost fifty years old, his passion for that young maid, who was not twenty, was so violent, that he resolved to marry her. At first he made others speak to her father, and then did so himself, of his design to be his son-in-law. That private person was not willing to contract an alliance so much above his condition. But he at last complied with the repeated instances of that Prince. Antiochus then celebrated his nuptials with all the pomp and profusion; as if he had been in the most profound peace. Forgetting the two great enterprizes he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he passed all the rest of the winter in diversions and feasting on the occasion of his marriage. This taste for pleasures was easily transferred from the King to all the officers and the whole army, and occasioned military discipline to be universally neglected. He did not awake from the stupefaction into which this voluptuousness had thrown him, till he was informed that the Consul Acilius was advancing by long marches against him in Thessaly.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.
Antiochus marries a young woman at Chalcis, and passes the whole winter in feasting.
Liv. xxxvi
11.

The Consul had passed the sea with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He ordered the legionary Tribunes, whose capacity he knew, to lead the infantry to Larissa, whilst he march'd with the cavalry to join Philip, who was already in action, and after having forced several posts in Thessalia in concert with the Roman Prætor Bæbius, besieged Limnæa. On his arrival the city surrendered. The Consul went afterwards to Larissa, to deliberate there upon the operations of the campaign. During his stay there, Philip subjected all Athamania.

The Consul Acilius arrives in Greece.
Liv. xxxvi
14.

A. R. 561.
Ant.C. 191.
Many cities
surrender-
ed to him.
Liv. *ibid.*

Acilius continued during some days at Larissa, principally to refresh his cavalry after the fatigues of their voyage and long march after their landing. When he found, that this little repose had restored the whole vigour and courage of his army, he began his march. As he advanced, Pharsalus, Scotussa, Pheræ, and many other cities of Thessalia surrendered to him with the garrisons Antiochus had left in them.

Antiochus.
destitute of
all aid
retires in-
to the de-
file of
Thermop-
ylæ.
Liv. xxxvi
15.

During these expeditions, Antiochus was at Chalcis. There, perceiving that of all the advantages he expected from the Greeks, nothing remained except the pleasures he had enjoyed in that city during an whole winter, and the nuptials he had contracted with so little decency ; he began to complain on one side of the empty promises of the Ætolians, and the impudent want of faith of Thaos ; and on the other to admire Hannibal, not only as a great General, but as a man of consummate wisdom, who foresaw with certainty all that was to happen. And indeed he plainly perceived with his own eyes the accomplishment of all Hannibal had foretold him, when he advised him not to rely either upon the promises of the Ætolians, or upon the fidelity of the States, that should submit to him in the absence of the Romans. However, not to ruin a project he had rashly engaged in by voluntary indolence, he sent directions to the Ætolians his allies, to make all their youth take arms. He marched ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to the rendezvous. He found the Ætolians there in less numbers than ever. When he complained to the principal persons of the country, that they were come with only an handful of their people, they replied, that they had used their utmost endeavours to bring as many with them as they could : but that they could not prevail.

prevail either by their authority or promises upon the youth, who had obstinately refused to list. A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

Upon this, destitute both of the aid of his own subjects who were not in haste to quit Asia, and of that he expected to find in Greece upon the promise of his allies, he retired into the strait of Thermopylæ. This is a chain of mountains which divides Greece in the midst, as the Apennines do in Italy from West to East. At the eastern extremity of these mountains is mount Oëta, of which the highest summit was called Callidrome; at the foot of which, in the valley that was bounded by the Maliac gulf, is a way not above sixty paces broad. This is the only rout through which an army could pass, supposing it had no obstacle. It is for this reason these defiles are called *Pylæ*, that is Gates; and by others *Thermopylæ*, on account of the hot baths which are there. This place is famous for the valour with which the Lacedæmonians defended it under Leonidas, or rather caused themselves to be killed in generously fighting the Persians.

Antiochus incamped in the same place, but not with the same intrepid resolution. He also fortified the defile with several works, and closed the entrance with a double fossé, a double palisade, and even a wall in some places, which the abundance of stones he found upon the spot made it easy to erect. Antiochus believed at first that he had sufficiently secured himself by seizing the pass of Thermopylæ, and fortifying it as he had done. Believing therefore that the Romans could never force him in this post, he sent four thousand Ætolians (which were all the troops Ætolia had supplied) half to guard Heraclea, and the other Hypata, which was not very far from it. These four thousand men having joined soon after, shut themselves up in Heraclea. But the King no

*Considera-
bl. victory
gained by
the Consul
Acilius.*

*over King
Antiochus
near the
straits of
Thermo-
pylæ.*

*Liv. xxxvi
16—21.
Plut. in
Cat. 3+3.
3, 4.*

*Antion.
in Syr.
96—98.*

A. R. 561. sooner saw the Romans approach, than he was
 A. C. 191. seized with terror. He knew, that the Persians
 had found ways in these mountains that brought
 them over the heads of the Lacedæmonians, and
 that very lately Philip had also been surrounded
 by the Romans in such defiles near the river Aous.
 He therefore sent a courier to the four thousand
 Ætolians with orders to seize the tops of the
 mountains, to prevent the Romans from finding
 any passage that way. Only two thousand obeyed
 and seized the eminences in three divisions. The
 Consul before the battle, thought it necessary to
 exhort his troops. The officers and soldiers of his
 army were almost the same that fought against
 Philip. He animated them in few words by the
 remembrance of the famous victory they had
 gained over that King, who was far more warlike
 and experienced in battles than Antiochus, and
 who softened by the pleasures and luxury of his
 late marriage imagined that war was to be made
 as nuptials were celebrated. He afterwards or-
 dered them to take rest and refreshment.

*Cato had
 a great
 share in
 this vic-
 tory.*

Acilius had used one precaution, which was the
 principal cause of his victory. Knowing that the
 Ætolians had seized the tops of the mountains,
 he detached M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius
 Flaccus, * consular lieutenants, each with two
 thousand chosen men, to attack the Ætolians,
 and to drive them from their posts. The next
 day at sun-rise he gave the signal, and drew up
 his troops in battle, forming his front very narrow,
 according to the nature of the place. Antiochus
 did the same as soon as he saw the Roman ensigns
 appear. At first his soldiers, placed before and
 around the works, easily sustained the enemy,

* Pizzarchi, Appian, and Cicero say, that Cato served at that
 time only as legenary Tribune.

who

who made all manner of efforts to break them on some side, and the better as they were seconded very advantageously by those who from above continually poured with their slings a shower of stones and leaden bullets upon the Romans, at the same time discharging darts and javelins upon them. But afterwards seeing themselves pressed by a great number of Romans, who advanced continually, and whom they could no longer resist, they retreated into their intrenchments; and covered with their rampart, which was then before them, they formed a second with their lances which they presented to the enemy. Many Romans, who advanced too rashly, were ran through, and remained upon the spot. The Consul would either have been obliged to abandon the enterprise, or would have lost abundance of men, if Cato, after having driven the Ætolians from the summit called Callidrome, and killed the greatest part of them whom he had found asleep, had not shewn himself with his troops upon the part of the hill, which commanded the enemy's camp. He had undergone inexpressible pains and dangers in gaining the top of that mountain, passing over impracticable rocks, and ways on the side of dreadful precipices. Flaccus had not the same success, and notwithstanding his utmost efforts, could not reach a post guarded by another body of Ætolians.

The soldiers of Antiochus, seeing Cato's troops hitherto only at a distance, imagined they were Ætolians, who, having seen the two armies engaged, were coming to the aid of their Allies. But when they could distinguish by their approach the ensigns and arms of the Romans, they were all seized with terror, and most of them threw down their arms, and fled. Antiochus, wounded in the mouth with a stone, that had beat out his teeth,

A. R. 561.
AUL. C. 191.

was obliged by the pain to face about. After his retreat, no part of his army had the courage to face the Romans. It was now only a flight, but extremely difficult for the conquered, because on one side were only deep morasses, and on the other steep rocks, which prevented them almost entirely from making off either on the right or the left. The Romans, who were endeavouring to pursue them, found that also exceedingly difficult, first in effect of the trenches and palisades, and then of the narrowness of the valley through which they were to pass, but especially of the elephants which Antiochus had placed in his rear-guard, which stopped the foot, and still more the horse, that were more frightened at the sight of those enormous beasts, than at all the noise and din of the battle. They also lost time in plundering the camp of the enemy. However they pushed that day as far as * Scarphia; and having killed or taken a great number not only of men and horses, but also of elephants, they returned to their camp.

When the action was over, the Consul took Cato still heated and out of breath in his arms, held him there a great while, and in the presence of the whole army cried out, in transports of joy, that neither himself, nor the Roman People, could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who acted on this occasion as lieutenant, or more probably as only a legionary Tribune, had been Consul, and at the head of the armies in Spain, where he had highly distinguished himself, as we have related above: but he did not believe it degrading himself to accept a subordinate employment for the service of the State; and this was customary amongst the Romans.

* *A city of Locris in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae.*

The Consul had made his cavalry set out to-
wards the end of the night in pursuit of the ene-
my, and followed them with the legions as soon as
day appeared. Antiochus, who was a great way
before him, having fled continually with precipi-
tation till he arrived at * Elatea, drew together
the remains of the battle and flight in that city,
from whence he retired to Chalcis, not having
with him above five hundred men of his whole
army at most. He did not stay there till the
Consul came up, but departing immediately, an-
chored in the port of ** Tenos, and from thence
went to Ephesus. As soon as Acilius appeared
before Chalcis, the gates were opened to him.
All the other cities of Eubœa surrendered without
being summoned, and the Consul having in a
very few days reconquered the whole island with-
out using violence to any one whatsoever, led back
his army to Thermopylæ, much more (a) com-
mendable for the moderation he shewed after the
victory than for the victory itself.

From thence he sent Cato to carry the news of
this success to Rome, mentioning in strong terms
in his dispatches the considerable share he had in it.
It is noble, in a General, to do another's merit
justice in this manner, and not to give jealousy any
place in his heart. The arrival of Cato at Rome
occasioned the greater joy in the city, as the event
of a war with a King so powerful, and of such
great reputation, had been much apprehended.
Public prayers and sacrifices by way of thanksgiv-
ing were decreed during three days.

During the time of the battle, ten galleys from
one part and three from another, which came to

* A considerable city of
Phocis.

** A small island, one of
the Cyclades.

(a) Multò modestia post
victoriam, quam ipsa victoria
laudabilior. *Liv.*

A. R. 561. aid the King, and were arrived in Greece, having
 Ant. C. 191. been informed of his defeat, returned to Ephesus.
 Other vessels, with considerable convoys for Antiochus had already passed the strait near the island of Andros. Atilius, who commanded the Roman fleet, having attacked them, sunk part of them, and took the rest, except those which were in the rear, that made off, and returned to Asia.

Acilius Though the Ætolians, by their violent and in-
exhaustible solent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy
in vain of all favour, Acilius however endeavoured to
to bring bring them over again by gentle methods. Be-
fore fore he formed the siege of Heraclea, he repre-
by gentle sented to those within the place, “ that experience
methods “ at least might shew them, how little they could
 Liv. xxxvi “ rely upon Antiochus: that it was still time
 22. “ enough to have recourse to the clemency of the
 “ Roman People. That they were not the only
 “ People who had been wanting in their fidelity
 “ to Allies from whom they had received so ma-
 “ ny favours: but others had at least condemned
 “ their blindness and ingratitude immediately af-
 “ ter the defeat and flight of the King, by whose
 “ sollicitations and promises they had been se-
 “ duced. That though the Ætolians were the
 “ most culpable, as they had not been brought
 “ over by that Prince, but had called him in
 “ themselves, and had not only shared in the
 “ war, as Allies of Antiochus, but ought to be
 “ considered as the authors of it: however, if
 “ they could resolve to repent by delivering up
 “ Heraclea to the Romans, they need not despair
 “ of favour and safety.”

Heraclea These remonstrances were ineffectual, and the
after a short Consul seeing, that it was necessary to proceed to
force force, formed the siege of that place with all his
forces forces. Heraclea was a very strong place, of
 Ibid. 22, great extent, and in a condition to make a long
 24. and

and vigorous defence. The Consul, having caused the Balistæ, Catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, of which he had provided a great number, to play, caused the city to be attacked at the same time in four different parts. The besieged defended themselves with a courage, or rather fury, not to be expressed. They immediately reinstated the parts of the wall, which had been beaten down: they made frequent sallies with a fury that it was hard to sustain, because they fought like men in despair. They burnt in an instant most of the machines, employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner during twenty four days together, without interruption night or day.

It is easy to judge, that the strength of the garrison, which was not very numerous in comparison with the Romans, must be exhausted by so violent and continued a fatigue. The Consul formed a new plan. He made the attack cease about midnight, and did not renew it till the next morning about nine. The Ætolians, not doubting but this must proceed from weariness, and that the besiegers were as much tired with fatigues as themselves, took advantage of the repose given them, and retired at the same time as the Romans did. This passed for some time. But the Consul, having made his troops retreat as usual about midnight, three hours after caused the town to be attacked at three places only, posting at a fourth side a body of troops with orders to continue quiet till the moment the signal for acting should be given. On this attack, those of the Ætolians who were asleep were not awakened without difficulty; and those who were awake ran on all sides where the noise called them. At break of day, upon the Consul's signal, the assault was made on that side of the city which had not been attacked till

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

till then, and from which the besieged had for that reason drawn off their troops. The place was carried that moment, and the Ætolians took refuge precipitately in the citadel. The city was plundered, less from the motive of hatred and revenge, than to make the soldiers amends, who hitherto had not been permitted to plunder any of the cities that had been taken. The citadel, which was in want of provisions, could not hold out long, and the garrison surrendered at the first attack. Amongst the prisoners was Damocritus one of the principal persons of the nation, who, in the beginning of the war, had answered Quintius, *That he in person would carry the decree, by which the Ætolians had lately called in Antiochus, to Italy.* The Romans, who remembered this insolent answer, conceived in effect of it the more joy on account of their victory.

*Philip be-
sieges the
city of
Lamia.
The Con-
sul ord-
ers him to
raise the
siege.
Liv. xxxvi.
25.*

At the same time that the Consul had begun the siege of Heraclea, King Philip, in concert with him, had undertaken that of Lamia, which was but seven miles from Heraclea. This nearness of the two besieged cities, the one by the Romans, the other by the Macedonians, gave birth to a lively emulation between the two people, each doing their utmost to support the honour of their nation. Philip found much greater difficulties at Lamia than he had expected. The Macedonians carried on a mine with infinite pains in a stiff and stony ground, in which they met with such hard rocks, as blunted their tools without its being possible to cut them. The King, finding this work go on so slow, endeavoured to induce the inhabitants, by conferences with the principal of them, to put the city into his hands. He was convinced, that if Heraclea was taken first, that they would chuse rather to surrender to the Romans, than to him; and that the Consul would honour himself

with the conquest of this place, and make it a merit with the inhabitants to have caused the Macedonians to raise the siege. He reasoned right: for as soon as the Consul had taken Heraclea, he sent to tell Philip to raise the siege; declaring, “that it was but just, that the Romans, who had been at the trouble of fighting the Ætolians, should reap the fruits of the victory.” He was obliged to comply. A Prince could not but be highly sensible of such an affront. The place some time after surrendered to the Romans.

Some days before the taking of Heraclea, the Ætolians assembled at Hypata, sent Ambassadors to Antiochus, of which number were Nicander and Thoas. They were ordered to desire that Prince, first, to return in person to Greece with a new fleet and army: secondly, if he had any reason to the contrary, to send them troops and money. They represented to him, “that it was for his honour, and faith required, that he should not abandon his allies in their necessity: that besides, his own safety, and that of his dominions made it necessary, that he should keep the Romans so employed in Greece, that they should neither have time nor power entirely to destroy the Ætolians, in order to enter Asia afterwards with all their forces.” These reasons, which were unanswerable, made an impression upon the King. In consequence he immediately gave the Ambassadors the money they wanted for sustaining the war, and promised to send them the sea and land-forces they asked soon after. He kept Thoas with him, who stayed voluntarily, to sollicit the promised aids in person.

But the loss of Heraclea entirely discouraged and destroyed the hopes of the Ætolians; and some few days after the departure of the Ambassadors,

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

The Ætolians press Antiochus to renew the war.

Liv. xxxvi. 26.

The taking of Heraclea determines the Ætolians to ask peace. But they are disgusted by the hard conditions imposed on them by the Consul.

Liv. xxxv. 27—29.

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

adors, of whom we have just spoke, renouncing the war absolutely, they sent others to the Consul to demand peace. They began to harangue him, when that General stopping them short, told them that he had something else to do than to hear them ; and granting them a truce of ten days, sent them back to Hypata with L. Valerius Flaccus, to whom he ordered them to explain their reasons, as they would have done to himself. When they arrived there, the principal persons of the nation held a council at Flaccus's house, to enquire with him in what manner they were to treat with the Consul. They seemed inclined to put him in mind of the alliances, which they had contracted with the Roman People, and the services they had done the Commonwealth. “ Flaccus advised them not
“ to mention treaties which themselves had broken. He added, that their safety depending
“ not upon the goodness of their cause, but upon
“ the clemency of the Roman People, the best
“ choice they could make, was to confess their
“ faults and to ask pardon for it. That if they
“ acted as suppliants, he would be a mediator for
“ them with the Consul, and in the Roman Senate, to which it would be necessary also to send
“ Ambassadors. According to the advice of
“ Flaccus, they all concluded, that the only
“ means to save themselves, was to abandon
“ themselves to the faith and humanity of the
“ Romans. They flattered themselves, that this
“ confidence would pique them in point of honour, and make them unwilling to treat suppliants with rigour, and they secretly retained
“ at heart the design and hope of taking advantage of the favourable occasions which fortune
“ might present.”

When

When they were before the Consul, Pheneas, ^{A. R. 561.}
the chief of the embassy, made a long and pathe- ^{Ant. C. 191.}
'tic discourse, with the hope of appeasing the Vic-
tor's wrath, and concluded with saying, *that the*
Ætolians ABANDONED THEIR PERSONS AND ALL
THAT WERE THEIRS TO THE HUMANITY AND
FAITH OF THE ROMANS. The Ætolians did not
comprehend the whole extent of what the Ro-
mans understood by ABANDONING THEMSELVES
TO THE FAITH OF ANY ONE. They probably re-
peated the words dictated to them by Valerius: in
which there would have been a fraud, on the side
of the latter, entirely to be condemned. In the
sense of the Romans, this expression signified to
abandon themselves to the faith of the person
to whom they spoke, without reserve, without ex-
ception, and so absolutely, that he might after
that without any other formality, dispose of their
fortunes, persons, and even lives themselves. In
a word, it was surrendering at discretion. When
Pheneas had pronounced these words: *Consider*
what you say maturely, said the Consul, *and whether*
your resolution to submit in this manner be well formed.
Pheneas shewed him the decree, in which those
terms were repeated word for word, as he had
uttered them.

As it is so, said the Consul, *I demand that you*
deliver up to me without delay your citizen Dicæar-
chus, and Menetas of Epirus (who had entered
Naupactus with troops, and had made the inhabi-
tants take arms) *with Amynder and the principal*
persons of the Athamantes, by whose counsel you re-
volted against us. Pheneas scarce stayed till the
Consul had spoke these words. Then replying
with warmth, *We gave ourselves up to you*, said he,
as friends, not as slaves; and I am convinced, that
it is for want of reflecting upon the customs of the
Greeks, that you require things of us absolutely con-
trary

A. R. 561. *trary to them. I do not regard,* answered the Con-
 Ant. C. 191. *sul, whether I seem to the Ætolians to act contrary*
to the customs of the Greeks: it suffices for me to use
my authority according to the customs of the Ro-
mans, over a people who come to submit according to
their own decree, and whom I had already subjected
by arms. For which reason, if you do not instantly
obey, I shall directly put you in prison. And he im-
 mediately ordered chains to be brought, and made
 his Lictors surround them.

On these menaces, Pheneas and the other Ætolians lost all spirit, and they began to be sensible of their condition. Pheneas said, *that himself and the other Ætolians saw plainly that they must obey the Consul's orders: but that it was necessary to assemble the nation to pass a decree. That in order to do so he demanded a truce of ten days.* The Consul granted it at the request of Flaccus; and the deputies returned to Hypata. Pheneas there, having related to those who formed the council the Consul's demands, and the danger to which himself and his colleagues had been exposed, the assembly could not refrain from groaning on the sad situation of the Ætolians; but they concluded no less in effect for obedience, and immediately summoned the whole nation.

When the whole assembled People were apprized of the matter in question, they were so much incensed at the Consul's haughtiness and rigour, that, had they been at peace, their rage would have been capable of making them take arms. With the indignation occasioned by the severity of these orders, united the rigour of executing them. How could they in particular deliver up the person of King Amynder to the Romans? They were in this disposition, when Nicander returned from his embassy to Syria, and flattered the multitude with vain hopes, by in-
 forming

forming them, that Antiochus was making preparations to renew the war with more vigour than ever; and the sums sent with him by that Prince were good vouchers of this. In consequence the negotiation on foot had no effect. A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

It cannot be denied but the insolence and perfidy of the Ætolians, and their violent hatred for Rome, deserved the most severe treatment. But the Consul's conduct, full of haughtiness, and founded upon a pretended consent and terms of which the Ætolians did not understand the force, is very strange, and seems extremely foreign to the Roman character.

Acilius, being informed, that the assembly of Hypata refused the peace, and that the Ætolians had joined their forces at Naupactus to sustain the whole weight of the war in that place, determined to follow them thither. After having undergone incredible fatigues in the defiles of the mountains he had to pass, where a small number of troops might have stopped him, he at length arrived before the city, and formed the siege of it, which did not cost him less pains, labours and works than that of Heraclea. *Acilius forms the siege of Naupactus.*
Liv. xxxvi

At the same time Philip, by the Consul's permission, made war on his side, and with advantage. He took Demetrias, Dolopia, Aperantia, and some cities of Perrhæbia. Liv. xxxvi
32, 33.

Quintius, who had been at the assembly of the Achæans, and had engaged them to surrender Zacynthus to the Romans, went afterwards to Naupactus, which was reduced to the last extremity. The Romans had now battered it with great vigour during two months; and if they had taken it by force, its ruin would infallibly have been followed by that of all Ætolia. Quintius had all manner of reason to be dissatisfied with the Ætolians, who had alone endeavoured to deprive him *Quintius goes to Naupactus, which was upon the point of being taken, and saves the city.*
Liv. xxxvi
34, 35.

A. R. 561. of the glorious title of deliverer of Greece, and
 Ant.C. 191. had despised his counsels, when foreseeing all that
 had lately happened, he had endeavoured to dis-
 suade them from so frantick an enterprize. How-
 ever, convinced that it was for his honour not to
 suffer any of the States of a country, whose liberty
 he had restored, to be destroyed, he began by
 walking round the walls, in order to make the
 Ætolians observe him. The report that Quintius
 was in sight immediately spread throughout the
 whole city. The people that instant ran from all
 parts to the walls. Those unfortunate citizens,
 holding out their hands towards Quintius, and
 calling him by his name, all wept, and implored
 his aid with great cries. Quintius, moved with
 their condition, so much as even to shed tears,
 made a sign to them with his hand, that it was not
 in his power to extricate them out of the danger
 that menaced them.

He afterwards waited upon the Consul, and en-
 tered into a conversation with him. *Manius,*
said he, don't you see the consequences of all this, or
foreseeing them, do you believe that they are indiffe-
rent with respect to the good of the Commonwealth?
 The Consul, surprized with this question, the sense
 of which he did not comprehend, desired him to
 explain himself more clearly. *How,* resumed
Quintius, don't you perceive, that after having de-
feated Antiochus, you lose time in besieging two cities,
your Consulship being upon the point of expiring?
whereas Philip, who was not present at the battle,
has already conquered not only cities, but provinces
also, as Athamania, Aperantia, Dolopia, and Per-
rhæbia. And however, it is of much less importance
to us to weaken the Ætolians, than to prevent the
extraordinary growth of Philip's power.

The Consul owned the solidity of these re-
flexions. But he was ashamed to raise the siege of
a city he had attacked during two months. He
left Quintius to act in this affair as he should think
expedient. The latter having approached the
walls a second time, the cries of the inhabitants
were renewed, and he was again earnestly im-
plored to take pity of the nation. He bade them
send some deputies to him. Pheneas and the
principal persons came out and threw themselves
at his feet. Seeing them in that posture: *Your
misfortune, said he, suppresses all sense of anger and
revenge in me. You see the accomplishment of all that
I foretold you; and you have not the consolation to
be able to say, that you have not deserved what you
suffer. But destined as I am, to defend and pre-
serve Greece, ingratitude shall not set aside my incli-
nation to do good. Send deputies to the Consul, to
obtain a truce from him, which will give you time to
send to Rome, to make your submission to the Senate.
I will intercede for you, and be your advocate with
the Consul.* They followed Quintius's counsel in
every thing. The Consul granted them a truce,
raised the siege, and marched his army into
Phocis.

What a difference is here between the conduct
of Acilius and that of Quintius! This strong con-
trast between two Generals in respect to the same
people, shew us how advantageous goodness, le-
nity, and clemency, even in respect to those who
have rendered themselves most unworthy of them,
are in the conduct of great affairs.

King Philip sent Ambassadors to Rome, to
congratulate the Romans upon the good success of
this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices
to the gods in the capitol. They were received
there with great marks of consideration, and De-
metrius, Philip's son, who was kept at Rome, as

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

*Ambassa-
dors from
Philip to
Rome.
Liv. xxxvi
35.*

A. R. 561.
B. C. 191.

an hostage, was put into their hands. This ended in Greece the war made there by the Consul Manius Acilius against Antiochus King of Syria.

*History
over the
Boii
Scipio's
Acilius's
figure.*

We have spoke elsewhere of the victory of Scipio Nasica, Acilius's colleague, over the Boii, and of that Consul's triumph.

*Liv. xxxvi.
33—40
H. Hannibal
from Asia
to this
point
F. Hannibal
Liv. xxxvi.
41.*

Antiochus, after his defeat, remained quiet at Ephesus, relying, upon the word of his courtiers and flatterers, that he had nothing to fear from the Romans, and that they had no thoughts of coming to Asia. In this manner does the divine Providence abandon the Princes it has determined to humble and cast down, to their own indolence. Hannibal, who at this time was in considerable credit with him, was the only one capable of rousing him from this lethargic stupefaction. He plainly told him, “ that he was much in the
“ wrong to flatter himself with vain hopes as he
“ did, and to suffer himself to be lulled by dis-
“ courses void of all reason and probability. That
“ he had certain advice, that Rome had some
“ time since made a new fleet and General set out
“ from her ports. That it would cost her less to
“ go from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to
“ Greece. That he would very soon have the
“ Romans to fight both by sea and land in Asia
“ and for Asia ; and that he must either resolve
“ to renounce empire, or to defend himself in arms
“ against an enemy, who aspired at nothing less
“ than to make themselves masters of the uni-
“ verse.” The King then conceived all the dan-
ger he was in. He sent orders, to hasten the
march of the troops from the East, which were
not yet arrived. He caused his fleet to be equip-
ped, embarked on board it, and went to the Cher-
sonesus. He there fortified Lyfimachia, Sestus,
Abydos, and the other places in the neighbour-
hood,

hood, to prevent the Romans from entering Asia through the Hellespont. A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

C. Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, had set out from Rome with fifty large ships. When he arrived at Corfu, he was informed that the Consul and Antiochus were incamped near Thermopylæ: (for the battle had not yet been fought.) He made haste therefore to the Piræus, where the Roman fleet commanded by Atilius lay. It consisted of five and twenty large ships, to which adding the six furnished by the Carthaginians, Livius's fleet consisted of fourscore large ships of war, without including a very great number of smaller vessels. He departed without loss of time, and arrived at Delos, where they were delayed some days by contrary winds.

*Naval
victory
gained by
Livi-
Admiral of
the Roman
fleet, over
that of
Antiochus,
near the
port of
Corycæ be-
yond Cyf-
satum.
Liv. XXXvi
42—45.*

During this interval Antiochus had been driven out of Greece by the Consul, and he was then in the Hellespont, when the Roman fleet was in the road of Delos. Polyxenidas, Admiral of that Prince's fleet, having given him advice of this, Antiochus immediately returned to Ephesus, and held a council to deliberate whether it were proper to try the fortune of a battle by sea. Polyxenidas was of opinion, " that it was necessary to attack
" the enemy before the fleet of Eumenes, and the
" galleys of the Rhodians had joined them. That
" by this means, they would be almost equal to
" the Romans in number, but much superior by
" the swiftness of their ships, and the variety of
" support. That the Roman vessels, through
" the gross manner in which they were built,
" moved heavily, besides which coming so far
" into an enemy's country, they were laden with
" provisions; whereas those of the King carried
" only soldiers and arms. That they should have
" the additional advantage of knowing the seas,
" lands, and winds, the ignorance of which only

A. R. 561. " was capable of occasioning great disorders amongst the enemy." Polyxenidas, in giving this counsel, had the greater weight, as he was to put it in execution.

They employed two days in preparations, and on the third Polyxenidas set out with an hundred ships, of which seventy had decks, and the rest were open, and arrived at * Phocæa. As the King was not to be present in this action, when he was informed, that the enemy's fleet approached, he retired to Magnesia near Sipylus, to put his land-forces in a condition to act. The fleet advanced as far as Cyffontum, a port of the Erythræans, as to a post where it waited the enemy with more advantage.

When the north winds, which had kept the Romans at Delos many days, were abated, they continued their course, and arrived before Phocæa, which submitted immediately. Eumenes, with twenty-four decked ships, and some few open vessels, joined the Roman fleet there, which was preparing to give the enemy battle. From thence setting out with about an hundred and five decked ships, and about fifty without decks, they were at first driven by the north winds, that blew upon their quarter, so that to avoid being wrecked, they were obliged to place themselves in a line behind one another, and to move on in a long file. When the violence of those winds was a little abated, they endeavoured to gain the port of Corycus above Cyffontum.

Polyxenidas, who sought only an occasion for fighting, rejoiced on being informed, that the Romans were coming to meet him. In consequence he drew up his fleet in battle, extended the left wing towards the main sea, ordered his Lieu-

* A city of Asia minor.

tenants to draw up the right towards the land ; and in that order advanced in a line against the enemy. The Romans seeing his disposition, furled their sails, lowered their masts, and at the same time that they made their ships ready for fighting, waited the coming up of those behind them. They had drawn up about thirty in front, which formed their right wing ; and to give the left room for forming, hoisting the small sails, they advanced towards the main sea, ordering those that followed to keep their prows against the enemy's right wing drawn up along the coast. Eumenes was in the rear-guard. But as soon as he judged by the noise he heard, that the two fleets were upon the point of charging, he made his ships advance with all possible expedition.

When they were within a nearer view of each other, three ships were detached from the fleet of Antiochus, and advanced against two Carthaginian galleys, which were ahead of those of the Romans. As the match was not equal, two of Antiochus's ships surrounded one of the Carthaginian ; and first broke all its oars, then boarded it sword in hand, and took it after having beat down and killed those who defended it. The one that remained, seeing the other taken by the enemy, sheered off to rejoin the rest of the fleet, before the three Syrian ships should come to surround it.

Livius, enraged at this sight, advanced in the Admiral galley, on board of which he was. At the same time, the two, which had taken the Carthaginian ship, came on to meet him, in hopes of gaining the same advantage over him. Livius, to make his galley more steady, ordered the mariners to lower the oars on both sides into the sea, to grapple the ships of the enemy with their *Corvi*, and to come board and board with them, in order

A. R. 561.
Ant. C. 191.

to fight close and hand to hand. He exhorted them to remember that they were Romans, and not to consider those vile slaves of Eastern Kings as men. At this time a single ship was seen to attack and take two with more ease than two had taken one some moments before.

The two fleets had already charged on all sides, and the ships universally mingled had rendered the battle general. Eumenes, who arrived last and after the beginning of the action, having observed the disorder, which Livius had occasioned in the enemy's left wing, fell upon their right, which still defended itself with equal advantage.

The defeat of the Syrians began on the left wing. When Polyxenidas saw the superiority, which the Roman soldiers had over his in valour, he caused the small sails to be hoisted, and fled with precipitation. The right wing, after having sustained the attack of Eumenes for some time, did not delay following the Admiral. The Romans, seconded by Eumenes, pursued them vigorously with the help of their oars, in hopes to come up with their rear. But at length, finding that the ships of the defeated, which were much lighter, had greatly the advantage of theirs, laden with provisions and machines, they stopped, after having taken thirteen galleys with their crews of soldiers and seamen, and sunk ten. The Romans lost only That, which had been taken at the beginning of the battle by the two that had invested it. Polyxenidas continued flying, till he saw himself in the port of Ephesus. The Romans stayed that day at Cyfiontum, from whence the fleet of Antiochus had set out to meet them; and the next day they put to sea again to go in quest of the enemy. In the middle of their course they met five and twenty Rhodian galleys, under the command of Pausistratus.

With

With this reinforcement, they advanced quite to Ephesus, and drew up in battle in the mouth of the port itself. But as the enemy made no motion, contented with that confession of their weakness they retired. Eumenes and the Rhodians returned home. As to Livius, he steered for Chios, where he landed the next day. He continued there some days, to give his crews rest, and then repaired to Phocæa. Having left four galleys of five benches of oars there to guard the city, he sailed with the fleet to Canes. There, as winter approached, he drew his ships on shore, and inclosed them within a fossé and palisade.

Towards the end of the year the assembly at Rome elected L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lælius Consuls, in the hope that they would terminate the war with Syria, which was then the great object of the attention of the Romans.

L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius are elected Consuls.
Liv. xxxvi

S E C T. II.

45.

The Ætolian Ambassadors are dismissed without having obtained peace. Scipio Africanus causes Greece to be given his brother as his province. The Senate leave the Consul at liberty to go to Asia, if he should judge it proper. Cornelius sets out from Rome. The Senate cause a new fleet to be built. Anxiety of the Ætolians. Return of their Ambassadors. The new Consul arrives in Greece. After many refusals, he at last grants the Ætolians a truce of six months to send Ambassadors to Rome. The Consul sets out for Asia, after having first sounded Philip's disposition. That Prince receives him and his army with royal magnificence. Great preparations of Antiochus, especially to fit out a new fleet. Livius puts to sea, goes to the Hellespont, and takes Sestos. Polyxenidas, having deceived Pausistratus, entirely defeats the Rhodian fleet.

fleet. Livius abandons the siege of Abydos. The Rhodians fit out a new fleet. The two united fleets approach Ephesus, and cannot bring the enemy to a battle. Æmilius Regillus takes upon him the command in the room of Livius. Seleucus besieges Pergamus. Eumenes, and soon after the Romans and Rhodians come to the aid of that city. Antiochus sends proposals of peace to the Prætor Æmilius, but ineffectually. The Achæans, commanded by Diophanes, cause the siege of Pergamus to be raised. Antiochus's fleet, commanded partly by Hannibal, is defeated by the Rhodians. Antiochus endeavours to engage Prusias in his party. He is determined to join the Romans by letters from the Scipios. Sea-fight between the Prætor Æmilius and Polyxenidas near Myonnesus, in which the Syrians are defeated.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. LÆLIUS.

The Ætolian Ambassadors sent back without obtaining peace.
Liv.
xxxvii. 1.

THE new Consuls having entered upon office, the first care of the Senate, after having satisfied the duties of religion, was to examine the affair of the Ætolians. Their Ambassadors earnestly demanded, that it should be terminated before the time of the truce which had been granted them should expire; in which they were supported by the credit of Quintius, who was then returned from Greece to Rome. As they relied much more upon the Senate's clemency than upon the goodness of their cause, they chose to demand grace for their recent faults, in consideration of their past services. For the rest, as long as they continued in the chamber of audience, they had much to suffer from the close questions, which the Senators in emulation of each other put to them, in order to extort from them a confession of their

their inconstancy and infidelity, rather than to hear <sup>A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.</sup> their excuses and apologies. When they left it, opinions were much divided concerning the manner in which they ought to be treated. The remembrance of their injurious and violent behaviour had almost extinguished all sense of compassion in the minds of the Senate. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as wild and untractable savages. At length, after the affair had been debated for several days with abundance of warmth, the result of that deliberation was, that without either granting or refusing them peace, it should be left to their option either to abandon themselves to the discretion of the Senate, or to pay the Roman People a * thousand talents, and * ^{About} 150000 ^{l.} to engage to have no other friends or enemies but theirs. They made earnest instances to be informed upon what articles the Senate desired that they should refer themselves to their discretion: but no positive answer was given them. In consequence they were dismissed without having obtained the peace they came to demand, and had orders to quit the city that day, and Italy in fifteen.

The provinces to be assigned the Consuls were ^{Scipio A-} the next subject of deliberation. Both desired ^{fricanus} Greece; and the Senate having ordered them to ^{causes the} draw lots, or to agree between themselves, Lælius, ^{province of} who was in great credit with that body, said that ^{Greece to} it was more decent to leave that choice to the pru- ^{be given to} dence of the Senate, than to refer it to the ca- ^{his brother} price of chance. L. Scipio replied, that he would ^{Liv. ibid.} consider of it; and having conferred with his brother, who told him he might boldly refer it to the Senate, he declared that he accepted Lælius's proposal. The case was new, or at least, time had entirely effaced examples of it in the minds of the Senate, who expected a long contest about it, when Scipio Africanus rising up, said, “ that if
I “ they

A. R. 562. " they would grant his brother the province of
 Ant. C. 190. " Greece, he would serve under him in quality of
 " his Lieutenant." This declaration was received
 with the applause of the whole assembly, and in-
 stantly put an end to the dispute. Greece was de-
 creed to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius, with almost
 unanimous consent. They were highly pleased
 with trying whether the counsels of vanquished
 Hannibal would be more salutary to Antiochus,
 than those of Scipio his conqueror to the Consul and
 his legions. The Prætors afterwards drew lots for
 their province, and the command of the fleet fell
 to L. Æmilius Regillus.

The Senate leaves the Consul at liberty to go to Asia if he thinks proper.
 Liv. xxxvii. 2. Cornelius, who was to command in Greece,
 was left at liberty to go to Asia, if he should
 judge, that the good of the Commonwealth re-
 quired it. Twenty ships of war with all their
 equipage were given to the Prætor Regillus ; to
 which he had orders to add a thousand seamen,
 and two thousand foot to be raised by himself;
 and with these forces to go to Asia, where C. Li-
 vius was to resign the command of the fleet to
 him.

Cornelius sets out from Rome.
 Ibid. 4. The Consul Cornelius, after having terminated
 the affairs that kept him at Rome, and had made
 all the necessary preparations, quitted the city in
 the military robe, according to custom, carrying
 with him, besides eight thousand men whom he
 had levied by order of the Senate, about five
 thousand voluntiers, who having compleated their
 time of service under Scipio Africanus, entered at
 this time with joy into a new engagement under
 his brother's ensigns.

The Senate build a new fleet. The Senate commissioned L. Aurunculejus to
 build thirty galleys of five benches of oars, and
 twenty of three, because it was rumoured, that
 Antiochus, after the naval battle he had lost, was
 fitting

fitting out a much more considerable fleet than the first. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

In the beginning of this year forty-three Ætolians of principal rank arrived at Rome, amongst whom were Damocritus and his brother, guarded by two cohorts, which Manius Acilius had expressly detached, and on their arrival were thrown into prison. These were prisoners of war. *Anxiety of the Ætolians.*

In the mean time the Ætolians waited the return of their ambassadors with great anxiety. The answer they brought back, and which put an end to all hope of peace, threw the Ætolian People into the utmost consternation. Justly afraid of the danger, with which they were menaced from the Romans, they seized mount Corax, to shut up the pass against their army. For they did not doubt but in the beginning of the spring they would return to besiege Naupactus. But Acilius surprized them by a project they did not expect, and attacked * Lamia, which probably had revolted. It at first made a very vigorous defence, but at length it was obliged to surrender. From thence he went to attack ** Amphissa, whose inhabitants behaved with great courage. *Return of their Ambassadors. Liv. xxxvii. 3, 4.*

Breaches were already made in several places, when Acilius received advice, that his successor was landed at Apollonia †, and that he was crossing Epirus and Thessalia in order to join him. He brought with him thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. When he arrived at the gulf of || Malia, he sent to summon the inhabitants of Hypata to surrender their city to him. They answered, that they could do nothing except by a decree of the general assembly of the Ætolians. *The new Consul arrives in Greece. After many refusals, he at last grants the Ætolians a truce of six months, to send Ambassadors to Rome.*

* A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.

** A city of Locris,

† A sea-port town of Ma-

cedonia. || The gulf of Malia is in Phthiotis, which is part of Thessalia.

Liv. xxxvii.

Then, 6, 7.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

Then, not to stop at the siege of Hypata before Amphissa had surrendered, he marched against the latter city, having made his brother Scipio Africanus set out before him. On their approach, the inhabitants had retired into the citadel, which they considered as impregnable.

The Consul had encamped six miles from thence, when Ambassadors from the Athenians, after having before applied to his brother came to him to implore his clemency in behalf of the Ætolians. Scipio Africanus had given them a sufficiently favourable answer. That superior genius, whose views were always great and extensive, and who only sought an honourable pretext for abandoning the war of Ætolia, in order to turn the whole force of the Commonwealth against Antiochus and Asia, had directed the Athenians, not only to endeavour to prevail upon the Romans, but to incline the Ætolians themselves to prefer peace to war: and the Ætolians had sent a numerous embassy from Hypata to demand peace. Africanus by his discourse, increased the hope they had of obtaining it. He told them, “ That when he
“ had commanded first in Spain, and afterwards
“ in Africa, of many nations he had subjected to
“ the Roman People, there was not one, to
“ whom he had not given more proofs of clemency and benevolence, than of courage and
“ ability in the art of war.” The affair seemed to wear a good aspect: but when the Ambassadors were introduced to the Consul, he gave them, no doubt conformably to his orders, the same answer as the Senate had at Rome, and which had driven them from thence. The Ætolians, struck with a rigour, for which the intercession of the Athenians and the favourable reception of Scipio Africanus had not prepared them,
replied,

replied, that they were going to give an account of their commission to those who had sent them. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

When they returned to Hypata, the heads of the nation were highly embarrassed. For they were not in a condition to furnish the thousand talents demanded of them, and were afraid, if they surrendered at discretion, that the Romans might believe they had a right to inflict punishment upon, and dispose of, their persons. They therefore sent back the same Ambassadors to the Consul and his brother Africanus, to implore them, if they sincerely intended to grant them peace, and not to deceive them with vain hopes, either that they would abate them part of the sum, which they demanded, or permit them, in surrendering, to add a clause for the exemption of their persons. The Consul was inexorable. They were reduced to despair. Æchedæmus, the most considerable of the Athenian Ambassadors, did not lose all hopes as they did. He advised them to ask a truce of six months in order to send new Ambassadors to Rome, representing to them, that the advantage of time might produce great changes in affairs. The truce was granted them. Perhaps Æchedæmus gave them this counsel in concert with the Consul and his brother Africanus, to whom it was of the highest importance not to be detained in Greece by the war of Ætolia. The siege of Amphissa was immediately raised, and Acilius having resigned his army to the Consul, resumed his rout for Rome.

There was no farther obstacle to the designs and desires of the Consul. He immediately meditated upon repairing to Thessaly, in order to cross Macedonia and Thrace, and from thence to go to Asia. But his brother made him reflect on the state of affairs. *I highly approve,* said he to him, *the rout you intend to take : but your safety entirely depends* *The Consul sets out for Asia, after having sound- ed Philip's disposition. Liv. xxxvii. 7.*

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

depends upon the disposition of King Philip. For, if he continues faithful to us, he will open the ways himself, and supply our army with the provisions of all kinds, of which it will have occasion for so long a march. But if he should abandon us, you would be exposed to great dangers in passing through Thrace. For which reason I advise you, before you engage in this design, to sound that Prince upon it. The most assured means of knowing his real sentiments, is to send a courier to him, who will surprize him by arriving unexpectedly.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, a young Roman, full of ardor and vivacity, was charged with this commission. He set out from Amphissa, and with the horses which were laid in readiness on his rout, his expedition was so prodigious, that on the third day he arrived at Pella. The King was at table, and even in his cups, when Gracchus was presented to him. This was to the courier a sign, that he meditated no designs to the prejudice of the Romans. That prince received him very graciously; and the next day shewed him the convoys which he kept in readiness for the Roman army, and gave him all possible assurances, that the bridges were laid over the rivers, and the ways made easy and practicable. The courier returned with the same diligence as he came, to carry this good news to the Consul, whom he met at * Thaumaci.

Philip received him
and his army with
great magnificence.
Liv. *ibid.*

The army full of confidence and joy immediately entered Macedonia, where every thing was in readiness to give them a good reception. Philip received them in effect with all the marks of good-will that could be expected from the most zealous and faithful ally. He supplied them with a truly royal generosity with all refreshments, and

* A city of Thessalia.

necessary aids. (a) In the feasts, which he gave the Consul, his brother, and the principal Roman officers, he behaved with an easy and graceful air, that had its merit with Scipio Africanus. For that great man, who excelled in all things, was no enemy to a certain dignity of manners and a noble generosity, provided it did not degenerate into luxury.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

The praise Livy gives Scipio Africanus in this place is also much in favour of Philip. He entertained at that time in his palace the most illustrious of mankind then in being: a Consul of the Roman People, and at the same time at the head of their armies; and what was still greater, Scipio Africanus, the Consul's brother. Profusion is common, and seems pardonable on these occasions. There was none in Philip's reception of his guests. He entertained like a great King, and with a magnificence, that suited their dignity and his own, but which had nothing excessive in it, nor that argued pomp and ostentation; and which was infinitely heightened by obliging manners, and an attention in introducing with taste, and according to the occasion, whatever could be agreeable to his guests. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas visa.* These personal qualities did him more honour in the sense of Scipio, and rendered Philip more estimable to him, than the most sumptuous profusions could have done. This fine taste on both sides, which is uncommon in Princes and great persons, is a good model for those of that high rank. But it requires no small courage and force of mind, a very refined sense of true great-

(a) *Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; verum sicut ad*

cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non alienum. Liv.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

ness, and an highly superior merit in all things, not to be carried away by the torrent of example, and a mode become universal. A King however ought to be sensible, that it is for him to give the law, and not to receive it; and Pliny justly observes, (a) that the conduct of Princes infallibly becomes the rule of their subjects, who, in order to act aright, do not stand in need of edicts and decrees, but of good examples.

The Consul and his brother, in acknowledgment of the noble and generous manner, with which Philip had received the army, according to the power they had received, remitted the rest of the money he was to pay, in the name of the Roman People.

Philip seemed to make it a duty and pleasure to accompany the Roman army, and to supply it with all that was necessary, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience of the superiority of the Roman forces to his own, and his inability to throw off the yoke of obedience and subjection, always grating to a King, obliged him to conciliate a People, upon whom from thenceforth his fate depended; and it was prudent in him to do that with a good grace, which he was in some sense obliged to do. For, at bottom, it must have been hard for him not to retain a lively resentment against the Romans in effect of the state, to which they had reduced him. Kings are not apt to habituate dependance upon, and to bear subjection to, others without great reluctance.

Great preparations
of Antiochus, especially to
fit out a
numerous
fleet.
Liv.
xxxvii. 8.

Antiochus, after the naval battle which he had lost near Corycus, having had the whole winter to prepare for sustaining the weight of the Roman

(a) Vita Principis censura est, eaque perpetua. Ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc converti-

mur; nec tam imperio nobis opus est, quam exemplo. *Plin. in Panegy. Traj.*

arms both by sea and land, had particularly applied himself to fitting out a new fleet, for fear of being entirely deprived of power by sea. He had occasion for an extraordinary number of ships in order to make head against the enemy. For this reason he had sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch the ships of the Phœnicians; and had ordered Polyxenidas to refit the old ones he had already, and to cause new ones to be built; conceiving that the remembrance of his defeat would render him more careful and attentive to acquit himself well of that commission. As for himself, he passed the winter in Phrygia, sending his orders on all sides for drawing all his forces together. He had left his Son Seleucus in Æolis with an army, to awe the maritime cities. For they were solicited both by Eumenes, who reigned at Pergamus, and by the Romans, who held Phocæa and Erythræa.

The Rhodians, to make amends for the fault they had committed the preceding campaign by arriving too late, sent about the vernal Equinox the same Pausistratus to the aid of the Romans, at the head of a fleet consisting of thirty six ships. Livius, who had wintered at Canæ, as we have said, was departed from thence with thirty ships, and the seven galleys of four benches of oars, which Eumenes had brought, and was advancing towards the Hellespont, to favour the passage of the Consul's troops into Asia. He left ten ships before Abydos, and went with the rest of the fleet to besiege Sestos, which is on the opposite shore in Europe. The soldiers had begun the attack sword in hand, when the priests of Cybele the mother of the gods, in their sacerdotal robes, with frantic gestures according to their custom, appeared at the gates, crying out that they were the ministers of Cybele, and came by order of that goddess to in-

Livius puts to sea, sails to the Hellespont, and makes himself master of Sestos. Liv. xxxvii. 9.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

treat the Romans to spare a city, that was under her protection. The attack was suspended, and a moment after the Senate, at the head of all the magistrates, came to surrender the city to Livius. The fleet moved from thence to Abydos. Livius first sounded the disposition of the inhabitants, endeavouring to make them surrender voluntarily: but seeing them determined to defend themselves, he resolved to employ force.

*Polyxenidas having
deceived
Pausistratus, entirely
defeats the
Rhodian
fleet.
Liv.
xxxvii.
10, 11.*

Whilst these things passed in the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, Admiral of the royal fleet, who was a Rhodian exile, received advice, that the squadron of his countrymen was set out from the island, and that Pausistratus, who commanded it, in haranguing the People, had spoke of him with haughtiness and contempt. Stung by this injury, and actuated by the desire of revenge, he resolved to make Pausistratus repent his bravadoes. He sent a man to him, known to them both, with orders to tell him, that Polyxenidas was capable, if he would consent to it, of doing him, and the Rhodians, a great service, and that Pausistratus, in his turn could reinstate Polyxenidas in his country. He promised to make none of the necessary preparations, and to deliver up the King's whole fleet to Pausistratus, or at least the greatest part of it, and for so important a service he asked no other recompence than permission to return to Rhodes. Pausistratus judged the affair of too great consequence to be rejected with contempt, or to be believed too lightly. Couriers passed between them, without persuading Pausistratus, till Polyxenidas, in presence of the Rhodian agent, had wrote, signed, and sealed with his own seal a letter confided to him, by which he assured Pausistratus, that he would perform what he had promised. So formal an engagement dispelled all doubts. The dissembled negligence, which

which Polyxenidas made appear in the equipment of his fleet, fully convinced Pausistratus, and made him fall into a real negligence. Polyxenidas well knew how to take advantage of it. To conceal his motions from the enemy, he set sail after sun-set with seventy large ships, and with a favourable wind, arrived in the port of Pygelus, towards the end of the night. He lay there all the next day for the same reason, and approached the coast of Panormus during the night. The Rhodian fleet was in the port of that city. He entered it as soon as it was light, and attacked it at a time, when Pausistratus expected nothing less. The latter, who was an old and very experienced warrior, was not daunted, drew up his ships in order of battle in the best manner so sudden an attack would admit, fought with extraordinary valour, and was killed in the action. His fleet was entirely defeated. He had twenty-nine ships either sunk, or burnt; only seven escaped, who courageously opened themselves a passage through the enemy, and went to join the Roman fleet in the Hellespont.

At the same time Seleucus retook Phocæa by the treachery of those who guarded the gates, and opened them to him.

The inhabitants of Abydos, after having sustained the siege many days, capitulated with the Romans. The only article that gave them pause related to the soldiers of the garrison, whom Livius would have suffered to quit the place, but without their arms, whereas they insisted upon keeping them. The affair was upon the point of being terminated, when the news of the defeat of the Rhodians snatched the victory out of the hands of Livius. That General fearing that Polyxenidas, flushed with this success, would come to surprize and attack the fleet he had left at

Livius

raises the

siege of

Abydos.

Liv.

xxxvii. 12

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

Canæ, and which he had drawn upon the shore, abandoned the siege in order to join it, and put to sea.

The Rhodians fit out a new fleet.
Liv.

xxxvii. 12.

The defeat of the Rhodian fleet gave them great grief, and threw them into a great alarm. For, besides their ships and soldiers, they had lost the flower of the Rhodian youth, most of the nobility having followed Pausistratus, who was much respected and beloved on account of his extraordinary merit. But soon after, reflecting that they had been overcome by the fraud and not the valour of the enemy, they recovered from their discouragement. Indignation, and the desire of revenging themselves upon a countryman, who had drawn them into this snare, uniting with the hope, which began to revive in their hearts, they fitted out ten galleys immediately, and some days after ten more. They gave the command of them to Eudamus, convinced that if he had not the other qualities of a General in the same degree as Pausistratus, he would at least be more circumspect, and for the very reason that he had less fire and genius.

The two fleets approach Ephesus, and cannot bring the enemy to a battle.
Ibid. 13.

When he had joined Livius with his fleet, they went together to Ephesus, to give the enemy battle, or to reduce them to own their fear in refusing to fight, which would have a good effect on the Allies. Livius, Admiral of the fleet, drew up his ships in a line facing the mouth of the port. But seeing no body move against him, nor accept the defiance, he left part of his ships at anchor near the entrance of the port, whilst the other landed the soldiers, to plunder the country in the neighbourhood of the coast. They had already carried off a great booty and approached the walls of the city when Andronicus, who was in garrison at Ephesus, made a sally upon them, and after having taken part of their plunder from them,

them, forced them to return to their ships, and to make off to sea. The two fleets returned to Samos from whence they had set out.

A. R. 562
Ant. C. 190

L. Æmilius Regillus being arrived at Samos, took upon him the command of the fleet from Livius. The latter, sometime after, repaired to Greece to confer with the Scipios, who were then in the neighbourhood of Thessalia, and from thence to return to Italy.

*Æmilius
Regillus
takes upon
him the
command
of the fleet
in the*

Seleucus, son of Antiochus, to take advantage of the absence of Eumenes King of Pergamus, who had quitted his dominions, and had joined the Romans with his troops, formed the design of going to attack Pergamus, the capital of the whole kingdom. Attalus, the King's brother, posted himself first before the walls with a body of cavalry and light-armed troops, and by frequent skirmishes harassed the enemy, rather than gave them battle. But the experience of some days having shewn him, that he was in no capacity to make head against them, he shut himself up in the city, which Seleucus immediately besieged. Much about the same time, Antiochus having set out from Apamea, incamped first at Sardis, and then not far from Seleucus, at the source of the river Caycus, with a great army, composed of troops of many nations.

*room of
Livius.
Seleucus
besieges
Pergamus.
Liv.
xxxvii. 18.*

When the news of the siege of Pergamus was brought to Samos, Eumenes set out first to defend his country, and arrived with his fleet at Elæa. Having found cavalry and infantry there in readiness to follow him, he advanced with that escort to the aid of Pergamus, and arrived there before the enemy perceived his march, and had made any motion to stop him. The skirmishes immediately began again, Eumenes not daring to venture a general battle. But, some few days after, the Roman fleet and that of the Rhodians

*Eumenes,
and soon
after the
Romans
and Rho-
dians come
to its aid.*

A. R. 562. came from Samos to * Elæa to extricate that
Ant.C. 190. Prince out of danger.

Antiochus
sent proposals of
peace to the
Prætor
Æmilius,
but without effect.
Liv.
xxxvii. 19.

In consequence, as soon as Antiochus knew, that they had landed their troops at Elæa, and that so great a number of ships were assembled in that single port, and had also received advice, that the Consul was already arrived in Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont, he thought it incumbent upon him to demand peace, before he saw himself pressed by sea and land. He therefore marched and incamped upon an eminence opposite to Ælæa. He left his whole infantry there, and coming down with all his cavalry, which amounted to six thousand men, into a plain under the very walls of Elæa, he sent a trumpet to Æmilius, with orders to tell him, that the King was come to make proposals of peace.

Æmilius, before he answered him, made Eumenes come from Pergamus, and held a council with him, to which the Rhodians were admitted. The latter were not averse to a peace. But Eumenes affirmed, that in the present conjuncture they would treat neither with honour nor authority. *Can we, said he, shut up as we are in a city besieged, receive the conditions that shall be imposed upon us with honour? Besides, what force will a treaty have, that we shall negotiate in the absence of the Consul, and without the authority of the Roman Senate and People?* He added many other reasons, and concluded, not to enter into a conference upon the subject of peace. The opinion of Eumenes took place, and Antiochus was answered, that no proposals would be heard before the Consul's arrival. That prince seeing that he had no peace to hope, ravaged the whole country round Elæa and Pergamus; and then leaving his son Seleucus

* Elæa was the arsenal of the navy of the Kings of Pergamus, five leagues from that city.

there,

there, he committed the same hostilities on his march upon the territory of * Adramyttium, and afterwards went to the plains of Thebæ, a city, which Homer has rendered famous by the mention he has made of it in his Iliad. As these plains were very fertile and rich, the soldiers of Antiochus made much greater booty here than in any other district. Æmilius and Eumenes, having come round the coasts with their ships, came to the aid of the city of Adramyttium.

At this time, a thousand foot and an hundred horse, that came from Achaia under the command of Diophanes, landed at Elæa, where they were received, on quitting their ships, by officers, whom Attalus sent to them, and who introduced them into Pergamus during the night. They were all veteran soldiers enured to war. The person, who commanded them, had learnt the art military under Philopœmen the greatest Captain at that time in Greece. That officer asked but two days, as well for resting his men and horses, as to consider the troops of the enemy, and to inform himself in their conduct.

From the time that fear had obliged Attalus, and his people to shut themselves up in their city, the contempt which the Syrians conceived for the besieged, had occasioned great security and negligence amongst them. Most of them did not give themselves the trouble to keep their horses saddled and bridled. Only a small number remained under arms: all the rest were dispersed in the country, where some passed their time in diverting themselves, whilst the rest sought the cool places, and shade to eat, drink, and sleep in at their ease. Diophanes, having observed the state of the enemy from the top of the walls, ordered

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

The Achæans under Diophanes, raise the siege of Pergamus.
Liv. xxxvii. 20, 21.

* A city of Mysia.

A. R. 562.
Aet. C. 190.

his troops to take arms, and to hold themselves in readiness at the gate of the city to execute the orders he should give them. During this space, he went to Attalus, and told him he intended to make a sally upon the enemy. Attalus made no small difficulties to consent to it, as he was to act with only a thousand foot against four thousand, and with an hundred horse against three hundred. Diophanes marched out, and posted himself not far from the besiegers, waiting the occasion to fall upon them with advantage. Those who were in the city, considered the enterprize of Diophanes as phrenzy, and not as the effect of prudent courage and just boldness; and the enemy themselves cast their eyes upon his troops with indifference enough; and seeing that they made no motion, did not depart from their usual indolence, making a jest of the handful of men, which they saw appear. Diophanes kept his troops quiet some time, as if they had only quitted the city out of curiosity, and to see what passed without the walls. But when he observed, that the enemy did not keep on their guard, he set forward like lightning at the head of his horse, after having ordered his foot to follow with the utmost expedition and to raise great cries, and fell with great impetuosity upon the enemy's posts, who expected nothing so little. So sudden an attack, accompanied with menacing cries, not only frightened the men, but the horses, who breaking their halts, by their flight increased the disorder and confusion of the besiegers. It even was not easy to saddle, bridle, and mount those, whom the flight had not dispersed; the Achaean horse having occasioned a confusion amongst them, that could not have been expected from so small a number. The infantry in its turn falling upon the enemy dispersed on all sides, and half asleep, made a great slaughter of them, and put those

those who escaped their swords to the rout. Dio. A. R. 562, phanes having pursued them as far as possible without exposing himself, returned triumphant into the city, after having signalized the valour of the Achæan nation, and acquired the esteem of all the inhabitants of Pergamus, who, both men and women, had seen the action from their walls. Ant. C. 192.

This event well shews the difference between brave, experienced, and vigilant officers, intent upon their duty, such as Diophanes the deserving pupil of Philopoemen was; and warriors, who were only so in name, enervated by voluptuousness, regardless of every thing but drinking and diversions, incapable of the least fatigues, and little affected with the sense of honour, and still less with the success of their service.

The morrow after this first sally, when both sides had continued facing each other almost the whole day without acting, the Syrians having retired a little before sunset, Diophanes fell upon them again suddenly, as he had done the day before, put them all to flight, and handled their rear-guard very roughly, none facing about to make head against him. This boldness of the Achæans at length reduced Seleucus to raise the siege of Pergamus, and to abandon the country.

Antiochus being informed, that the Romans with Eumenes were arrived to aid Adramyttium, removed from that city, but ravaged the whole country round about it. After having taken some places of small importance, he retired to Sardis. *The fleet of Antiochus commanded by Hannibal is defeated by the Rhodians.*

The Roman fleet returned to Elæa, from which it had set out. Eumenes was then sent home, and directed to prepare all the necessary means for passing the Hellespont. The Rhodians posted themselves in the road near Rhodes to prevent the passage of the enemy's fleet, which was said to have *Liv. xxxvii. 22—24. App. in set Syr. 104.*

A. R. 562. set out from Syria. A second squadron, sent from
 Ant. C. 190. Rhodes against the same fleet, and commanded by Pamphilidas, joined the first, of which Eudamus was Admiral. These two squadrons when joined formed a fleet of thirty-six galleys, thirty-two of four benches of oars, and four of three. That of Antiochus consisted of thirty-seven large ships, of which three were of seven benches, four of six, besides ten *triremes*, or ships of three benches. The two fleets met upon the coasts of Pamphylia. As soon as the Rhodians had doubled the promontory, which projects from Sida into the sea, they perceived the enemy, and were descryed by them. Hannibal commanded the left wing of the royal fleet on the side of the main sea: Apollonius, one of the principal officers of Antiochus, commanded the right. The battle ensued. The Rhodians, who were alone in this action, had all the honour of it. By the goodness of their galleys, and the address of their seamen, they beat the enemy. They even drove Hannibal into the port of Megistus in the neighbourhood of Patara, and blocked him up so effectually there, that it was impossible for him to act in any manner for the service of the King.

Antiochus received the news of this defeat almost at the same time, that he was informed the Roman Consul was advancing by long marches in Macedonia, and that he was preparing to come to Asia by the Hellespont. He then plainly saw the impending danger, and made haste to take all possible measures to prevent it.

Antiochus endeavours to engage Prusias in his interest. He sent Ambassadors to Prusias King of Bithynia, to inform him, that the Romans were preparing to enter Asia. They were instructed to make him sensible of the effects of this enterprize, and to represent to him in the strongest manner, Liv. xxxvii 1-5. “ That their sole design was to abolish regal
 “ power,

“ power, in order to reign over the Universe alone. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.
“ That after having conquered and subjected Na-
“ bis and Philip, their aim was now against him
“ (Antiochus.) That if he had the misfortune
“ to be overpowered, the fire gradually gaining
“ ground would soon reach Bithynia. That as to
“ Eumenes, he had nothing to expect from him,
“ as he had put the chains on himself, and had
“ voluntarily submitted to slavery.”

These motives had made an impression upon Scipio's
letters de-
termine Prusias : but the letters which he received at the Prusias to
adhere to
the Ro-
mans. same time from the Consul Scipio and his brother, very much conduced to dispel all these suspicions and fears. “ The latter represented the perpetual
“ custom of the Roman People to heap honours
“ and advantages upon the Kings, who cultivated
“ their alliance : and he cited examples of this
“ kind, in which he had had a great share. He
“ observed that in Spain, several, from petty
“ Princes as they were before, were become great
“ Kings, since they had put themselves under the
“ protection of the Romans. That he had not
“ contented himself with restoring Masinissa the
“ kingdom of his fathers, but that he had added
“ to it the dominions of Syphax, by whom he
“ had been before deprived of his own ; so that
“ he was not only the richest and most powerful
“ of the Kings of Africa, but there was not ano-
“ ther in the whole universe, who could be com-
“ pared with him for greatness, power and splen-
“ dor. That Philip and Nabis after having been
“ conquered in war by Quintius, had been left
“ upon the throne. That the year before, the
“ tribute Philip had engaged to pay, had been re-
“ mitted to him, and his son, who had been kept
“ as an hostage at Rome, sent home ; and that
“ that Prince himself had conquered several cities
“ out of Macedonia, without being opposed by
“ the

A. R. 562. " the Roman Generals. That Nabis would still
 Ant. C. 190. " possess supreme power, if his own madness,
 " and the perfidy of the Ætolians had not put an
 " end to his life."

The arrival of Livius, who had before commanded the fleet, and whom the Roman People had sent to Prusias in quality of Ambassador, finally determined him. He shewed on which side it was reasonable to presume victory would declare, and how much safer it was for him to confide in the amity of the Romans, than in that of Antiochus.

Battle between the Antiochus, disappointed in the hope he had
Prætor conceived of bringing over Prusias to his party,
Æmilius had no thoughts but of opposing the passage of the
and Polyxenidas Romans into Asia, to prevent it from becoming
near Myonnesus, in the theatre of the war. He believed, that the
which the best means for succeeding in this, was to recover
Syrians the empire of the sea, which he had almost en-
are de- tirely lost by the loss of the two battles I have re-
feated. lated. That he should then be in a condition to
Liv. employ his fleets where he pleased; and that it
xxxvii. would be impossible for the enemy to cross the
29, 30. strait of the Hellespont, and to transport their
 army into Asia, when his fleets should have nothing to do but to prevent it. He therefore resolved to venture another battle, and in order to that he repaired from Sardis to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He reviewed it, put it in the best condition he could, abundantly supplied it with all that was necessary for a new action, and sent it again under the command of Polyxenidas in quest of the enemy and to give them battle. What principally determined him to take this resolution, was his having received advice, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet had remained near Patara to besiege it, and that King Eumenes was gone to meet the Consul at the Chersonesus with all his ships.

Polyxe-

Polyxenidas found Æmilius and the Roman fleet near Myonnesus, a maritime city of Ionia. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

The Romans had fourscore galleys, including the two and twenty of the Rhodians. Antiochus's fleet consisted of ninety ships, amongst which were three of six and two of seven benches of oars. The Romans had the superiority over the Syrians in the strength of their ships and the valour of their soldiers; and the Rhodians by the nimbleness of their galleys; the experience of their pilots, and the dexterity of their rowers. But what gave the enemy most terror, were the fires which they saw in the Rhodian vessels; an invention used before with success by the latter, and which gained them the victory upon this occasion. For the King's galleys not daring to present their heads to those of the enemy which were armed with fire, turned aside to avoid them, and thereby received in flank the strokes of their beaks, which they were not in a condition to return; and if any of them presented that part, it was filled with the flames, which they dreaded much more than the arms of the enemy. But the valour of the soldiers contributed more than all things else to the victory of the Romans. For the Prætor having broke through the main body of the Syrians, by taking a compass, fell upon the rear of those engaged with the Rhodians; and immediately the galleys of Antiochus, invested both in the centre and left wing, were either taken or sunk. Those who were in the right wing still sustained the fight, more terrified with the misfortune of their companions, than by any loss they had hitherto suffered themselves. But when they saw that the greatest part of the fleet was surrounded, and that the Admiral galley of Polyxenidas made off, leaving the rest in danger, they immediately hoisted their small sails and fled to Ephesus with
a fair

A. R. 562.
AUL. C. 190.

a fair wind. Polyxenidas lost in this battle forty-two ships, of which the Romans took thirteen, and either burnt or sunk the rest. On the side of the Romans, there were two sunk, and some others a little shattered. One Rhodian galley was taken. This was the event of the battle of Myonnesus.

S E C T. III.

Antiochus, in his confusion for the loss of the naval battle, abandons the passage of the Hellespont to the Romans. Reflexion upon the imprudence and blindness of Antiochus. He draws together as many troops as he can. Æmilius sends gallies for the Consul's passage. He besieges Phocæa, which surrenders. The Consul passes the Hellespont, and enters Asia. Antiochus sends proposals of peace to the Romans. His Ambassador endeavours to gain Scipio Africanus by considerable offers. Fine answer of Scipio. Antiochus prepares for the war. He sends Scipio's son to him. The Consul marches in quest of the King to give him battle. The armies draw up in battle on both sides. Chariots armed with scythes. Battle fought near Magnesia. The King's army is defeated and cut to pieces. The cities of Asia minor surrender to the Romans. Antiochus demands peace. Speech of his Ambassadors. Answer of Scipio Africanus. Conditions of peace imposed upon the King. Eumenes sets out for Rome with the Ambassadors. Cotta gives the Senate and People of Rome an account of the victory gained over Antiochus. Audience granted Antiochus's Ambassadors. Treaty of peace ratified. Ten commissioners appointed to regulate the affairs of Asia. Principal conditions of the treaty. Naval triumph of Regillus. L. Scipio, on his return to Rome, is surnamed ASIATICUS, and has the honour of a triumph. The conquest of Asia introduces

introduces luxury into Rome. Reflexions upon the conduct of the Romans in respect to the Grecian Commonwealths, and of the Kings both of Europe and Asia; and at the same time upon the relation which all those events have to the establishment of the Christian Church.

THE loss of the sea fight near Myonnesus so much affected Antiochus, that he seemed entirely confounded by it. As if reason had abandoned him on a sudden, he immediately took measures manifestly contrary to his interests. In his consternation, he sent orders for his troops to retire from Lyfimachia, and the other cities of the Hellespont; lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, who were marching that way in order to enter Asia: whereas it would have been necessary to send them thither, if they had not been there before; because That was the only means to prevent their passage, or at least to retard it. For Lyfimachia, which was a very well fortified place, was capable of sustaining a long siege, and perhaps of holding out till the winter was much advanced, which would have incommoded the enemy exceedingly by the want of provisions and forage: and in the mean time he might have found means for accommodating with the Romans, not to mention all the unforeseen advantages, that time might have produced.

He not only committed a great fault in withdrawing his troops from thence at a time when they were most necessary there, but he did it with so much precipitation, that all the ammunition and provisions were left behind, of which he had laid up considerable magazines. In consequence, when the Romans made themselves masters of them, they found all the provisions their army had occasion for in as great abundance, as if they had been

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.
Antiochus in his confusion for the loss of the naval battle abandons the pass of the Hellespont to the Romans.

App. in Syr. 104.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

purposely laid up for them, and the passage of the Hellespont was so open and easy, that they transported their army without the least opposition.

*Reflexion
upon the
imprudence
and blind-
ness of
Antiochus.*

Isai. iii.
1, 2, 3.

App. in
Syr. 104.

We here plainly see what is so often inculcated in the scripture, that when God intends to punish and destroy a Kingdom, he deprives its King, governors, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. He menaces his people thus by Isaiah. *For behold the Lord, the Lord of Hosts doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff—the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, and the prudent and the antient—the honourable man, the counsellor—and the eloquent orator.* But it is very remarkable, that the Pagan historian says here in express terms, and repeats it twice, *That (a) God deprived the King of sense and reason; a punishment, says he, that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great misfortune.* He deprives him, that is to say, he takes from him presence of mind, prudence, and judgment: he divests him of all salutary thoughts; he makes him in a manner distracted, and even averse to all the good counsels that can be given him.

This is what David asked of God in respect to Ahitophel Absalom's counsellor: *O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsels of Ahitophel into foolishness.* However wise his advice may be, make it seem foolish and absurd to Absalom. And this was what happened.——*For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel,* TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING THE EVIL UPON ABSALOM, which he deserved.

(a). Θεὸς ἐλάττωσεν, ἥδη τὰς λογισμὰς, ἐπὶ ἅπασιν, πρὸς σι- ὅτι καὶ ἀτυχήματα ἐπιγίγνεται, ἢ μὴν ἔτε τὸν διαπλεν ἐφύλαξιν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. App.

In all ages happen the like events, so evidently marked with the hand of God, that the most stupid and irreligious of men, cannot help acknowledging providence in them. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

After the naval battle, Antiochus retired to Sardis, from whence he sent Ambassadors into Cappadocia to King Ariarathes to demand aid, and into all the other parts, from whence he had reason to hope any, being solely ingrossed by the design of giving the Romans battle by land. *Antiochus draws all his troops together.*
Liv. xxxvii. 31.

The Prætor Æmilius set sail for Chios (or Scio) and after having refitted his ships that had suffered, he sent L. Æmilius Scaurus to the Hellespont with thirty galleys, to carry the Consul's army to Asia. He left the Rhodians at liberty to return home, after having divided the spoils with them taken from the enemy by sea and land. But, before they made use of the Prætor's permission to retire, they were desirous to render the Romans service, in assisting the Consul to transport his troops into Asia, and they did not return to Rhodes, till after this new proof of their zeal. *Æmilius sends galleys for the Consul's passage.*

In the mean time Æmilius had formed the siege of Phocæa. The city, after having long defended itself, at length opened it's gates to the Romans, upon condition that the inhabitants should not be treated as enemies. But the rage and avarice of the soldiers prevailed over the Prætor's authority, and notwithstanding his prohibition the city was plundered. *He besieges Phocæa.*

The Consul arrived at length at Lyfimachia, which he found abandoned by the army, and full of provisions of all kinds. He rested there some days, to wait the arrival of the baggage, and sick men which he had been obliged to leave in several forts of Thrace. When the whole was come up, they resumed their march, and arrived upon the banks *The Consul passes the Hellespont and enters Asia.*

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

banks of the Hellespont; and with the aid of Eumenes, who had made all the necessary preparations, they passed from the other side without tumult and confusion, as if the question had been to enter an Ally's country, and without any resistance. It was matter of great joy and confidence to the Romans, to find the passage to Asia open in this manner, where they expected that they should have great difficulties and dangers to encounter.

They remained during some time on the banks of the Hellespont, because it was the time when the *Salii* carried the sacred shields in procession at Rome, on which days it was not allowed to travel. This reason, which regarded Scipio Africanus in a still more particular manner, because he was himself of the number of the *Salii*, had prevented him from following the army, which was against setting out till he had rejoined it.

Antiochus
proposes
peace to
the Ro-
mans.

Liv.

xxxvii.

Polyb. in

Excerpt.

Legat.

c. xxiii.

Appian. in

Syr.

p. 105

—110.

When Antiochus knew, that the Romans had passed the Strait, he began to believe himself undone. He then desired to be delivered from a war, in which he had improperly engaged, and without having maturely considered all the consequences. He therefore thought of sending an Embassy to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace to them. All that Prince had heard of the character of Scipio Africanus, of his greatness of soul, generosity, and clemency, in regard to the conquered States as well of Spain as Africa, gave him hopes, that that great man, satiated with glory, would make no great difficulties to come into an accommodation: and the rather as he had a present to make him, to which he could not but be infinitely sensible. This was his own son, who was very young, and had been taken in the beginning of the war, and put into the hands of Antiochus. Neither the time nor the occasion when
this

this happened are exactly known: but it is certain, that if that Prince had been at peace with the Roman People, and the Scipios had been under particular engagements of friendship and hospitality with him, young Scipio could not have been treated at his court with more politeness, benevolence, and distinction.

It was during this halt of the troops, that Heraclides of Byzantium, Ambassador from Antiochus, arrived in the camp of the Romans. Having been informed, that Scipio Africanus was absent, he would not be introduced to the Consul.

Discourse of the Ambassador, which has no effect.

As soon as the person he expected arrived, he demanded audience, which was immediately granted him. Being admitted into the council, he began by saying “ That what had rendered the other “ negotiations of peace ineffectual between his “ master and the Romans, made him hope good “ success from this; because all the difficulties “ which had cut them short at that time, were “ now removed. That the King, to leave no “ room to complain, that he was for retaining “ any thing in Europe; had abandoned Lyfima- “ chia. That as to Smyrna, Lampfacus and “ Alexandria in Troas, he was ready to cede “ those cities to the Romans, and every other “ city which they should demand, as in alliance “ with their Commonwealth. That he consented “ to pay the Roman People one half of the ex- “ pences of the war. He concluded, with ex- “ horting them to remember the inconstancy of “ human things, and not to rely too much upon “ their present prosperity. That they ought to “ be satisfied with making Europe the boundary “ of their empire, which was of immense extent. “ That if they absolutely insisted upon adding “ some part of Asia to it, the King would have “ moderation enough to consent to it, provided

A. R. 562. " the limits of it were very clearly expressed and
 Ant. C. 190. " settled."

The Ambassador imagined that proposals so advantageous and reasonable in his sense, could not be rejected: but the Romans did not judge them in the same manner. " As to the expences
 " of the war, as it had been unjustly undertaken
 " by the King, they thought it reason, that he
 " should pay the whole. Neither were they sa-
 " tisfied with his making his garrisons evacuate
 " Ionia and Æolia. Their view was to reinstate
 " the liberty of all Asia, as they had of all
 " Greece: which could not be done, if the King
 " did not abandon all Asia on this side of mount
 " Taurus."

*The Am-
 bassador of
 Antiochus
 endeavours
 to gain
 Scipio
 Africanus
 by consid-
 erable offers.
 Liv. lib 36.*

Heraclides, very much dissatisfied with this public audience, and not being able to consent to conditions, that much exceeded his powers, endeavoured, according to the orders he had received, to bring over Scipio Africanus in particular. He declared to him above all, that the King would restore his son to him without ransom. Then, little knowing Scipio's greatness of soul, and the Roman character, he assured him that if he could obtain peace for Antiochus that Prince would give him whatever sums he should think fit, and divide authority with him in the government of his dominions, reserving to himself only the name of King; or, if we follow Polybius who expresses this more modestly, that he would divide the revenues of his kingdom with him.

*Scipio's
 free speech.*

Scipio answered in terms to this effect: *I do not wonder that you little know Scipio and the Romans in general, as you do not so much as know the condition of the Prince, who has sent you to us. If you pretend, that the uncertainty of success should incline us to grant you peace more easily, your master should have kept possession of Lysimachia, to prevent*

CORNELIUS, LÆLIUS, Consuls.

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us from entering the Chersonesus, or should have come to meet us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia. But, as he has abandoned it to us, he has received the curb and the yoke. (a) Amongst the offers he makes me, that of restoring me my son cannot but very sensibly affect me. As to the rest, I beg the gods, that the state of my fortune may dispense with the want of them: at least my heart will never think of them as necessary, and I hope they never will be capable of tempting me. If Antiochus, in return for a private favour, requires only a private Acknowledgment, I shall make him sensible, that I am not ungrateful: but, as a public man, he must expect nothing from me, as it is my duty to receive nothing from him. All that I can now do, is to give him salutary counsel, as a good and faithful friend. Go therefore, and tell him from me, to lay down his arms, and not to refuse any of the conditions of peace proposed to him.

Antiochus could not relish such proposals, and believed he should run no risque in hazarding a battle, as it would not be possible after he had lost it, to impose harder conditions upon him. Accordingly renouncing all thoughts of an accommodation, his sole attention was now to prepare for war.

The Consul seeing nothing now that ought to delay him, continued his march, and arrived at Ilion. The Romans considered that city as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence Æneas had set out to settle in Italy. The Consul offered sacrifices to Minerva, who presided in the citadel. The joy was equal on both sides, almost like that of fathers and

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

*Antiochus
prepares
for the
war.*

*The Ro-
mans halt
at Ilion,
and offer
sacrifices.
Liv. 8.
liv.
xxxvii.*

(a) Ego ex munificentia regia maximum donum filium habebo: aliis deos precor, ne

unquam fortuna egeat mea: animus certe non egebit. Liv.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of that city seeing their descendants, conquerors of Africa and the West, come now to resume Asia, as a kingdom, which had belonged to their forefathers, imagined that they saw Ilium rising out of its ashes, and born again more illustrious than ever. The Romans, on their side, felt an infinite joy from seeing themselves in the antient abode of their fathers, who had given birth to Rome, and to contemplate in it the temples and statues of the divinities common to them with that city,

*Antiochus
sends Sci-
pio's son
to him.
Liv.
xxxvii.*

Having set out from thence, they arrived in six days at the source of the river Caycus. The King was incamped in the neighbourhood of Thyatira. He was informed there, that P. Scipio had been carried sick to Elæa; whither he sent him his son. The sight of so dear an object made an impression both on his body and mind, in restoring joy and health to that sick and afflicted father. After having long embraced his son, and satisfied the first transports of paternal tenderness, Go, said he to the Ambassadors, *go, and assure the King that I am extremely sensible of his generous attention, and tell him, that at present I can give him no other proof of my gratitude, than in advising him not to think of fighting, before he knows that I am arrived in the camp.* Perhaps Scipio was in hopes that a delay of some days would give the King time to make more serious reflexions than he had done hitherto, and to think of concluding a solid peace. For of what service could his presence have been to the King in a battle?

Though the superiority of Antiochus's troops in point of number to those of the Romans, was a strong motive with him for hazarding a battle without delay; however the authority of such a person as Scipio, upon whom he had always re-
lied

lied in case of any unfortunate accident, prevailed in his thoughts. He passed the river of Phrygia, (the Hyllus according to Strabo) posted himself near Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp so as to secure it from insult.

The Consul followed him close thither. The armies were several days in view ; but Antiochus did not make his quit his camp. It consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants. The Romans had in all but thirty thousand men and sixteen elephants. The Consul seeing, that the King made no motion, assembled his council to deliberate upon the measure he should take, in case he should persist in avoiding to come to blows. He represented, “ that the winter approaching, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, to keep the soldiers incamped ; or, if they went into winter quarters, to refer the decision of the war to the year following.” Never did the Romans shew so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion. They all cried out, that it was necessary to march immediately against the enemy, and to take advantage of the ardor of the soldiers, who were all ready to pass the fosses and storm the palisades, in order to attack them in their camp, if they did not quit it. Perhaps the Consul was desirous to act before the arrival of his brother, whose presence would have much diminished his glory.

The next day, after the situation of the enemy’s camp had been viewed, the consul made his army approach it drawn up in battle. The King, fearing that a longer delay might discourage his troops, and augment the boldness of the enemy, at length made them march out. In consequence both sides prepared for an action, which was to be decisive.

In

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

The Consul follows Antiochus to give him battle.

Liv. xxxvii. 37.

The armies draw up in battle on both sides.
Liv.

xxxvii. 39, 40.

A. R. 562.
Ann. C. 190.

In the Consul's army all was uniform enough both as to men and arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, each of five thousand four hundred men, and two the like bodies of Latine troops. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latines on the two wings, the left of which was sustained by the river. The first line of the centre was composed of the *Hastati*: the second, of the *Principes*; and the third, of the *Triarii*. And this, properly speaking, was what formed the main body. On the side of the left wing, to cover and sustain it, the Consul had posted almost on the same line three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary troops of Eumenes; and next to them somewhat less than three thousand horse, eight hundred of which were the troops of Eumenes, and the rest Roman or Latine. He placed five hundred light-armed Trallians or Cretans at the extremity of this wing. The left wing did not seem to have occasion for such a reinforcement; because it was judged, that the river and its banks, which were very steep, sufficiently defended it. He however posted four companies of horse here. Two thousand soldiers were left to guard the camp, which were Macedonians and Thracians, that had voluntarily followed the army. The sixteen elephants were left behind the *Triarii*, to serve as a *corps de reserve* and a rear guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were much more numerous, (fifty-four to sixteen) but because the elephants of Africa, the only ones the Romans had, were much inferior both in bigness and strength to those of India, and could not sustain their charge.

The King's army was more various from the diversity of nations and the difference of arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian

man manner, composed the main battle. This phalanx was divided into ten small bodies, the front of each consisting of fifty men by thirty-two in depth; and in each of the spaces between them two elephants were placed. This constituted the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants gave terror. They were very large, and seemed more so from the ornaments of their heads and their plumes, in which gold, silver, purple, and ivory glittered: vain ornaments, which invite the enemy, by the hope of spoils, and do not defend an army. These elephants carried towers upon their backs, with four combatants in them, not including the guide. On the right side of this phalanx were drawn up upon the same line part of the horse: *viz.* fifteen hundred Gauls of Asia, (called *Gallo-Græci* by the Romans, and *Galatæ* by the Greeks) three thousand Cuirassiers armed at all points; (*Cataphracti*) a thousand other horse, which were the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring people. Next them, and at some distance from them, were placed a troop of sixteen elephants to support them. On the same side, extending the same wing, was posted the King's regiment, consisting of Argyraspides, so called because they had silver bucklers. Beyond them, twelve hundred horse-archers of the Dahæ, with which were joined two thousand five hundred others of the Mysians. Then three thousand light-armed troops, partly Cretans, partly Trallians. This wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrtæans and half Elymæans. The left wing was disposed and strengthened almost as the right; except that before part of the cavalry were placed waggons armed with scyths, and beasts, called dromedaries, with Arabian archers upon them, who had small swords six feet long for reaching the enemy from the

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

the backs of those animals. The King commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three Lieutenant-Generals the main body.

A fog which rose in the morning, covered the two armies with thick darkness; then a south wind brought on a wet mist, which spread over the whole plain. These two inconveniences did not much hurt the Romans, but were very incommodious to, and much against, the King's troops. For the former occupying only a moderate extent of country, could however see each other: and their arms, which were for the most part solid and heavy, were not at all damaged by the humidity. But the different parts of Antiochus's army were so remote, that the two extremities were so far from being able to see each other, that even those in the centre could not distinguish what passed on the two wings, and the damp had relaxed the strings of their bows and slings to such a degree, and the thongs of their javelins, that it was not possible for them to make use of them.

*Chariots
armed
with
scythes.
Liv.*

xxxvii. 41.

Besides this the cars armed with scythes, by which Antiochus was in hopes of spreading terror and disorder amongst the troops of the enemy, began the confusion of his own. The form of these cars was as follows. From the midst of the pole issued ten points of iron about a cubit long, (a foot and an half) intended to break and pierce whatever came before it. On each side of the yoke or seat were two scythes, the one level with the seat itself, and the other turned towards the ground: the first to cut obliquely, the other to cut those from top to bottom who should have fallen, or should endeavour to creep under. And lastly, at the axes of each wheel two more scythes were fastened, in the same situation and for the same effect. Antiochus, conceiving, that if he placed

placed these cars in the rear, or the centre, the drivers of them would be obliged to make them pass through his troops, posted them in the front, as we have said already.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

Eumenes, who was acquainted with this kind of combat, and how doubtful an aid it was, if care was taken to frighten the horses who drew the cars, rather than to attack them close, ordered the Cretan archers, the slingers, and the horse armed with javelins, not to go all in a body against them, but divided in small platoons, and to shower their darts upon them from all sides, raising great cries at the same time.

His orders were executed, and had all the success he expected. As soon as those cars set forwards, and this was in a manner the prelude of the battle, the horses which drew them, terrified with the horrid cries raised on all sides, and overwhelmed with stones, darts, and javelins, took the bridle in their teeth, ran away in disorder on every side in the space between the two armies without feeling the reins, and turned against their own troops, as well as against the camels. This empty bugbear being thus dispersed, the armies came to blows.

Battle given.
The King's army is defeated and cut to pieces.
Liv. xxxvii. 41—44.

But this first terror soon occasioned the loss of the King's whole army. For the troops, who were near these cars, terrified by the disorder and fright of the horses, fled themselves, and left all uncovered and without defence quite as far as the Cuirassiers. The latter, attacked by the Roman cavalry, could not sustain the charge, and broke that instant, many remaining upon the place, because the weight of their arms would not admit them to escape by flight. The whole left wing was put to the rout, and carried disorder and consternation as far as the main body formed by the phalanx.

The

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

The Roman legions then attacked it with advantage, the phalanx not being able to use their long pikes, because the flying troops fell in amongst them, and hindered them from acting, whilst the Romans discharged their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants disposed in the intervals of the phalanx, were of no aid to them. The Roman soldiers, accustomed in the wars of Africa to fight with those animals, had learnt how to evade their impetuosity, either in piercing their flanks with their javelins, or, if they could approach them, by cutting their hams with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were then put in disorder, and the Romans had already began to cut the rear in pieces, which had been surrounded, when they were informed that their left wing was in great danger.

The Consul, convinced that his left would be sufficiently defended by the steep banks of the river, had sustained it with only four companies of cavalry, who had even removed from the river to join the rest of the army. Antiochus, from the right where he commanded, perceived this opening, and moved thither to attack the enemy with his auxiliary troops and heavy armed cavalry; and he not only pushed the Romans in front, but filing off on the side of the river, began to take them in flank. The Roman cavalry having been put in disorder, and taken to flight, the infantry soon followed it, and did not stop till they arrived in sight of their camp.

M. Æmilius, the military Tribune, had remained there to guard it. When he saw the Romans come flying thither, he went out with all his troops to meet them, reproaching them with their cowardice and shameful flight. He did more, he ordered his troops to kill the first of those they met flying without mercy, that should refuse

to face about.. This order, given in time, and punctually executed, had all its effect. The greater dread surmounted the less. The flying soldiers first stopped, and then returned to the battle. Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of two thousand men, all brave and enured to war, opposed the King, who vigorously pursued those that fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, upon the advice he received of the disorder of the left wing, flew to it, and arrived seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus seeing, that those he pursued before, returned to the charge, and that the troops who arrived, some from the camp, and others from the battle, were upon the point of pushing him on all sides, turned his back in his turn, and retired with precipitation.

The Romans being thus victorious on the right and left wings, passing over the heaps of dead bodies, especially in the centre, where they had found most resistance, in effect of the bravery of the troops, and where the flight had been most difficult through the weight of the arms, ran towards the camp of the defeated to plunder it. The horse of Eumenes first, and afterwards those of the Consul, pursued the enemy in the plain, killing all that fell into their hands. But what was most pernicious to the flying troops, was meeting the cars, elephants and camels. For being dispersed on all sides, and throwing down one another through their eagerness to escape the victor, they were crushed under the feet of those animals. More were killed in the camp than in the battle. For it was thither flight carried most of the defeated, and they fought with most obstinacy there before the intrenchments, in hopes of being sustained by those, that had been left in the camp to guard it. In consequence the Romans, who had expected

A. R. 562. expected to carry it on the first assault, enraged
Ant. C. 190. with having been stopt so long at the gates, shed more blood than they would have done, had they entered it sooner.

Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in this battle. The number of the prisoners amounted to only fourteen hundred men. Fifteen elephants were also taken with their guides. Many were wounded on the side of the Romans: but they left only three hundred foot and fourscore horse upon the spot. Eumenes lost only twenty-five of his troops. The next day they stripped the dead of their spoils and assembled their prisoners.

It is observed, that one of the causes of the loss of this battle, was the manner in which the King had drawn up his phalanx. It constituted the principal strength of his army, and had hitherto passed for invincible. It consisted solely of old, warlike, robust soldiers, full of vigour and courage. In order therefore to have enabled them to do him most service, he should have given them less depth and more front; whereas by drawing them up two and thirty deep, he rendered half of them useless, and posted new raised troops upon the rest of the front, without courage or experience, in which he ought to have placed no confidence. Antiochus, in this, had however only followed the method observed by Philip and Alexander, who drew up their phalanx in the same manner. But in process of time, able Generals reduced the depth to sixteen, and even to eight, according to the exigency of different cases and different occasions.

*The cities
of Asia
minor sur-
render to
the Ro-
mans,
liv.
xxxvii. 45*

The fruit of this victory gained at Magnesia near Sipylus, was the surrender of all the cities of Asia minor, which came either immediately, or soon after, to submit to the Romans. Neither Hanni-

Hannibal nor Scipio were present in this battle. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.
The first was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, and the other continued sick at Elæa.

Antiochus having fled with some of his people, arrived about midnight at Sardis with a small number of troops, which he had picked up on his way. There, being informed that his son Seleucus, and some of the grandees of his court had retired to Apamea, he set out towards the end of the night for that place with his wife and daughter. They soon after passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence to enter Syria.

The Consul had already arrived at Sardis, where his brother P. Scipio joined him, having set out as soon as his health would permit. It was there, that a trumpet from Antiochus came to desire Scipio Africanus to prevail upon the Consul his brother, that that Prince might send Ambassadors to him, which was granted him. Some days after the King sent Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater his nephew. They applied first to Eumenes, whom they believed the most averse to peace on account of the antient quarrels between him and Antiochus. But having found him more tractable than either they or the King had expected, they went to P. Scipio, who presented them to the Consul. That General assembled his whole council to give them audience, and when they were introduced to it: *Romans, said Zeuxis, without seeking to excuse ourselves, we only ask you what we are to do to expiate the imprudence, into which Antiochus has fallen, and to induce you to forgive him, and grant him peace. You have always with generosity and greatness of soul pardoned the Kings and States you have overcome. How much more ought you to do so now after a victory, which* Antiochus demands peace by his Ambassadors. Liv. ibid.

A. R. 562. renders you masters of the Universe? (a) Laying aside
 Ant. C. 190. all animosity against mortals, you should have no thoughts for the future; but, after the example of the gods, to pardon and do good to mankind.

P. Scipio's answer. Before the Ambassadors arrived, the answer of the Romans was ready. P. Scipio, who was appointed to make it, spoke to them to the following effect. (b) Of all the things, which are naturally dependant on the gods, we possess only those which they have vouchsafed to bestow. As to our courage, which depends only upon us, it has always been the same, in whatsoever situation we have been. As ill fortune has never been able to depress it, prosperity is not capable of exalting it. To prove what I say, I might mention the example of your Hannibal, if I had not your own to set before you. When we had passed the Hellespont, before we had seen your camp and army, whilst the event of the war was still uncertain, you came to treat with us of peace. Now the same conditions, which we then proposed to you, when things were equal on both sides, we now propose again, when you are defeated and we victorious. You shall abandon all you possess in Europe, and in Asia on this side of mount Taurus. You shall give us, for the charges of the war, fifteen thousand * Euboic talents, five hundred down, and two thousand five hundred when the Senate and People of Rome shall have ratified the treaty. You shall pay the remaining twelve thousand in twelve equal annual payments. It

(a) Possis jam adversus omnes mortales certaminibus, haud secus, quam deos, consilere & parcere vos generi humano oportet. Liv.

(b) Romani, ex iis quæ in deum immortalium potestate erant, ea habemus, quæ dii dederunt. Animos, qui noster mentis sunt, eisdem in

omni fortuna gessimus, gerimusque: neque eos secundæ res extulerunt, nec adversæ minuerunt. Liv.

* Fifteen Attic talents would be about two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling: Those of Eubæa were something less.

*is also just, that you should pay Eumenes * four hundred talents, and the rest of the corn, which was due to his father. When you have accepted these conditions, that we may rely upon your executing them, you shall give us twenty hostages, which we shall chuse. But the Roman People can never be assured of being at peace with a Prince, who keeps Hannibal at his court. We therefore previously to all things demand that you deliver him up to us, as well as Thoas the Ætolian, who has most contributed in exciting this war. The King, by delaying too long, will make peace when his fortune is become more precarious. If he delays longer, (a) let him know, that it is more difficult to make the fortune of Kings descend from its greatest height to a middling condition, than to precipitate it from the latter to the lowest state.*

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

Scipio's discourse begins with a maxim, which seems great, but is really so only through pride. This distinction between external goods, dependant upon Providence, and those of the soul, dependant solely upon human will, is the constant and almost universal opinion of the Pagan world. Cicero explains himself on this head still much more strongly by the mouth of Cotta, who, as well as himself, was of the sect of the Academics. "All (b) men, says he, are convinced, "that they hold all fortuitous and exterior goods "from the gods, as well as all the conveniences "of life, but not virtue. Was there ever a man

De Nat.
Deor. II.
86, 87.

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

(a) Sciat regum majestatem difficilius à summo fastigio ad medium detrahi, quam à mediis ad ima præcipitari. Liv.

(b) Hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates——à diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam

acceptam deo retulit. Num quis quòd bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? At, quòd dives, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis. Jovemque optimum maximum, ob eas res appellant, non quòd nos justos, temperantes, sapientes efficiat, sed quòd salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos.

A. R. 562. " who thanked the gods, that he was a good
 ARL C. 190. " man ? No certainly : but the gods are thanked
 " for riches, honours, and health. Jupiter is
 " called most good, most potent, not because he
 " makes us just, prudent, wise ; but because he
 " affords us protection, safety, riches, and health."

Erift. 18. This Horace also thought, which he expressed, in
 lib. i. few words in these two lines:

*Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat & aufert.
 Det vitam, det opes : æquum mi animum ipse parabo.*

These are the sentiments men derive from the corruption of their nature, which is averse to suffering the just dependance, wherein the creature is in respect to God in all things in general and without exception.

Eumenes
sets out for
Rome with
the Ambaf-
sadors of
Antiochus.
 Liv. xxxvii. 45. The Ambassadors of Antiochus had orders to accept all the conditions the Romans should think fit to prescribe : so that there was nothing farther in question on the King's part, but to send Ambassadors to Rome. The Consul distributed his troops into the cities of Magnesia upon the Meander, of Tralles, and Ephesus, to quarter there during the winter. Some days after the hostages he had demanded of the King were brought him to the last place. Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time with that Prince's Ambassadors ; and they were followed by those of all the different States of Asia.

As soon as Hannibal and Thoas were apprized that a treaty was negotiating, rightly judging that they should be sacrificed, both provided for their safety, before it was concluded.

M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

CN. MANLIUS VULSO.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.

I omit here some facts of the preceding year, to which I shall return.

Under these new Consuls arrived at Rome M. Aurelius Cotta, L. Scipio's lieutenant, with the Ambassadors of Antiochus, King Eumenes, and the Ambassadors of the Rhodians.

Cotta related, first in the Senate, and then in the assembly of the People, all that had passed in Asia. Procession and thanksgivings were decreed for three days for such great successes, and forty great victims were sacrificed.

Audience was then given to Eumenes preferably to all others. "He began by thanking the Senate in few words for the distinguished protection they had afforded him, in delivering himself and his brother from the siege carried on against Pergamus the capital of his dominions, and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus. He then congratulated the Romans upon the success of their arms by sea and land, and upon the glorious victory they had lately obtained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, and all that part of Asia on this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to what related to his person and the services he had endeavoured to render the Commonwealth, he chose, that the Senate should be informed of them rather by the Roman Generals than from his own mouth."

So modest a reserve was generally approved: but he was desired expressly to say wherein the Senate and People of Rome could oblige him, and what he expected from them; assuring him that he might rely upon their good will. He replied,

M 3

"that

Cotta gives the Senate and People an account of the victory gained over Antiochus.
Liv.

xxxvii. 52.

Audience granted Eumenes and then the Rhodians.
Liv.

xxxvii.

52-54.

Polyb.

A. R. 563. " that if the choice of a reward were proposed to
 Ant. C. 189. " him by others, he should take the liberty to ask
 " the advice of so illustrious a body in respect to
 " the answer it was proper for him to give, to
 " avoid making demands that might be deemed
 " immodest and excessive: but as it was from
 " the Senate itself he expected all he could hope,
 " he thought it incumbent on him to refer himself
 " solely to their generosity." He was again
 pressed to explain himself clearly, and without am-
 biguity. In this mutual contest of politeness and
 deference, Eumenes not being able to get so much
 the better of himself as to comply, quitted the as-
 sembly. The Senate however persisted in their
 opinion; and their reason was, that only the King
 knew what suited himself, and was most for his
 interest. He was therefore made to return, and
 obliged to explain himself.

Eumenes then made a very fine speech, the
 purport of which was to demand of the Roman
 People by way of recompence for his services
 great part of Asia Minor, which had been taken
 from Antiochus. But, as he knew, that the
 Rhodians would oppose his demands under very
 specious pretexts, he previously refuted all that
 they had to say contrary to his interests. Accord-
 ingly the Rhodians on being admitted to audience,
 after having spoke modestly of their services, re-
 presented in a lively manner, that it was for the
 honour of the Roman People to reinstate the liberty
 of all the cities of Asia, as they had of Greece.

Those two speeches, the substance and a great
 many strokes of which Livy has copied from
 Polybius, are very eloquent: but as they regard
 the interests of the States of Asia more than those
 of the Romans, and I have related them with suf-
 ficient extent in the Antient History, I thought it
 necessary to omit them here.

The

The Ambassadors of Antiochus were heard after those of the Rhodians. They confined themselves to asking, that the Senate would be pleased to ratify the peace, which L. Scipio had granted them. They did so, and some days after, it was also ratified in the assembly of the People. The treaty of peace was solemnly concluded in the capitol between the Senate and Roman People of one side, and Antipater, the principal Ambassador and nephew of Antiochus on the other.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.
The Ambassadors of Antiochus have audience.
Treaty of peace is ratified.
Liv.
xxxvii 55.

Audience was afterwards given to the other deputies of Asia, to which it was answered in general, that the Senators, according to antient custom, would send ten commissioners into Asia, to make such regulations as should be proper, of which the substance should be very near as follows: that Eumenes should be put into possession of all the countries, that had been under Antiochus on this side of mount Taurus, except Lycia and Caria: those countries included all Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, Mysia, the cities of Lydia and Ionia, except those which were free at the time the battle was fought with Antiochus: that all the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus King of Pergamus, should also pay tribute to Eumenes his son. That those which had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from all imposts. That, as to what regarded the Rhodians, they were granted Lycia, and that part of Caria in the neighbourhood of their island beyond the Meander, with the cities, towns, forts and lands, extending towards Pisidia, except the places which had been free before the victory over Antiochus. Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this regulation, which really was highly advantageous to them.

Ten commissioners appointed to regulate the affairs of Asia.
Principal articles of their regulation.
Ibid. 56.
Triumphs of M. Acilius and of L. Æmilius Regillus.

The war with Antiochus made way for three triumphs at Rome. The first was that of Man.

Liv.
xxxvii.

A. R. 563. Acilius, who triumphed over Antiochus and the
 Ant. C. 189. Ætolians. The second was granted to L. Æmi-
 lius Regillus, who had defeated Polyxenidas Ad-
 miral of the fleet of Antiochus by sea.

L. Scipio Some time after L. Scipio arrived at Rome,
 ex his re- and to equal his brother by a glorious surname, he
 turn to assumed that of *Asiaticus*. He related his successes
 Rome has in Asia to the Senate and People. The Romans
 in surname returned the gods solemn thanksgivings for so con-
 of Asiatic- siderable a victory, and granted their General the
 ces, and honour of a triumph, which he had so justly de-
 triumphs. served. This triumph, in outward shew, ex-
 Liv. ceeded that of Scipio Africanus: but on the side
 xxxvii. 59. of danger and difficulty of the war, and impor-
 tance of actions, was as much inferior to it, as
 L. Scipio was to his brother, or Antiochus to
 Hannibal. He exhibited to the eyes of the Peo-
 ple two hundred and thirty four ensigns, twelve
 hundred and twenty elephants teeth, two hundred
 and twenty four gold crowns, a considerable quan-
 tity of gold and silver either in ingots, coined or
 wrought plate of all kinds. Besides which he
 caused two and thirty Generals of armies, Gover-
 nors of provinces, or great Lords of the court of
 Antiochus to be led before his chariot. He caused
 twenty five denarii to be distributed to each sol-
 dier (about twelve shillings) twice as much to the
 Centurions, and thrice to the horse. After his
 triumph, he caused twice the usual pay and pro-
 visions to be given the troops, as he had done
 before in Asia immediately after the defeat of An-
 tiochus. It was almost a year after the expira-
 tion of his consulship, when he had this triumph.

The con- Thus ended the war with Antiochus, which was
 quest of not of long duration, cost the Romans little blood,
 Asia intro- and however very much conduced to aggrandize
 duces lux- their empire. But at the same time this victory also
 ury at contributed in another manner to the ruin and
 Rome. per-

perdition of the same empire, by introducing at ^{A. R. 563.}
 Rome, with the riches it brought thither, a taste ^{Ant. C. 189.}
 for luxury, and voluptuousness. For it is to this
 victory over Antiochus and the conquest of Asia, Plin. xiii.
 that Pliny dates the corruption of the manners of 3.
 the Roman Commonwealth, and of the fatal
 change that happened in it. (a) Asia conquered
 by the arms of Rome, in its turn conquered Rome
 by its vices. Foreign riches put an end to the
 love of poverty and the ancient simplicity, which
 had been the principles of its honour and strength.
 (b) Luxury which entered Rome as in triumph
 with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with it in
 its train all kinds of disorders and crimes, made
 more havock there than the most numerous armies
 could have done, and in that manner avenged the
 conquered globe.

*Reflections upon the conduct of the Romans in respect
 to the Grecian Commonwealths, and the Kings as
 well of Europe and Asia, and at the same time
 upon the relation which all these events have to the
 establishment of the Christian Church.*

WE begin now to distinguish from the facts I
 have hitherto related one of the principal
 characters of the Romans, which will soon deter-
 mine the fate of all the States of Greece, and oc-
 casion an almost general change throughout the
 universe: I mean, the lust of empire. This cha-

(a) Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. *Senec. de Alex.*

(b) Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores

Intulit, & turpi fregerunt secula luxu

Divitiæ molles ———

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo

Paupertas Roma perit ———

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Juven. Satyr. 6.

raâter

rafter does not shew itself at first in full light, and in all its extent: it discovers itself only by little and little, or gradually: and it is only by insensible degrees, but however rapid enough, that it at length attains its final purpose.

We must admit, that, this people on certain occasions shew a moderation and disinterestedness, which, considered only from outward appearance, are above any thing of the kind to be found in History, and to which we cannot justly refuse our admiration. Was there ever a more shining and glorious day, than that in which the Roman People, after having sustained a long and dangerous war, passed seas, and exhausted themselves in expences, declare by the voice of an herald in a general assembly, that they restore liberty to all the Republics and cities of Greece, desiring no other fruit of their victory, than the exalted pleasure of doing good to a People, whom the remembrance only of their antient renown rendered dear to them? We cannot read the narration of what passed on that famous day, without being softened even to tears, and without giving way to a kind of enthusiastic esteem and admiration for so generous a People.

If this deliverance of the Grecian cities had been entirely void of interest, had no other principle but beneficence of mind, and the conduct of the Romans had never deviated from such laudable sentiments, nothing could certainly be greater or more glorious. But, if we enter a little beyond this shining outside, we easily discern, that this pretended moderation of the Romans had its source in a profound policy, wise indeed and prudent according to the maxims of the ambitious, but far from that noble disinterestedness, which historians have so much cried up on the occasion in question. It may be said, that the Greeks at
this

this time abandoned themselves to a very ill-founded joy, believing themselves actually free, because the Romans declared them so.

Two powers, at the time of which we are speaking, divided Greece, the Greek Republics and Macedonia, and they were always at war: the one to preserve the wrecks of their antient liberty, and the other totally to subject and enslave them. The Romans, who were perfectly sensible of this situation of Greece, rightly perceived, that they had nothing to fear from these petty Republics, weakened by time, intestine divisions, and the wars they had to sustain without doors. But Macedonia, which had warlike troops, that did not lose sight of the glory of their antient Kings, had formerly extended their conquests to the extremities of the world, still retained a warm, though chimerical, desire of universal monarchy, and had a kind of natural alliance with the Kings of Egypt and Syria, descended from the same origin, and united by the common interests of regal power: Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, after the reduction of Carthage, could have no other obstacles to her ambitious designs than those powerful kingdoms, that divided the rest of the universe between them, and in particular Macedonia, which was nearer Italy than any of the rest!

Rome therefore had in view to counterpoize the Macedonian power, and to deprive Philip of the aid he flattered himself with having from Greece. This aid would perhaps have actually been capable of rendering him invincible by the Romans, if all Greece had joined with Macedonia against the common enemy. To prevent this union fatal to their views, the Romans declared highly for these Republics, and made it their glory to take them under their protection, without any other
apparent

apparent design, than to defend them against their oppressors. And in order to attach them by a stronger tie, they industriously profess, as a reward of their fidelity, that they will protect their liberty, of which all the Republicks were jealous beyond all possibility of expression, and which the Kings of Macedonia had always disputed with them.

The bait was most artfully prepared, and greedily swallowed by the Greeks, most of whom carried their views no farther. But the most judicious and penetrating discovered the danger concealed under this lure, and from time to time admonished the People in the public assemblies to distrust the cloud gathering in the West, and which soon would change into a dreadful tempest, that would wreck them all.

Nothing at first was more candid and equitable, than the conduct of the Romans. They treated the cities and States, which put themselves under their protection, with great goodness: they aided them against their enemies: they were industrious in appeasing their divisions, and in putting an end to the troubles that arose amongst them, and required nothing from their Allies for all these services. By this means their authority was established by degrees, and prepared the People for an entire subjection to it.

Accordingly, under pretext of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them to each other, they rendered themselves the supreme arbitrators of those, to whom they had restored liberty, and whom they considered in some sense as their freed men. They sent commissioners to them to hear their complaints, to examine their reasons on both sides, and to terminate their divisions. As to the articles to which they could not make them agree upon

the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. They afterwards summoned such authoritatively as refused to comply, obliged them to plead their causes before the Senate, and even to appear there personally. From arbitrators and mediators become judges, they soon assumed the tone of masters, considered their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were highly offended if they were not immediately submitted to, and treated a second refusal as rebellion.

Thus the Senate of Rome set itself up for the supreme tribunal of the universe, judging all States and Kings in the last resort. At the end of every war it determined the punishments and rewards each had deserved. It deprived the conquered People of part of their lands, to reward the Allies of the Commonwealth with them : wherein there was a double advantage. It attached Kings to Rome from which she had little to fear, and much to hope ; and thereby weakened others, from whom Rome had nothing to hope, and much to fear.

We shall see one of the principal magistrates of the Achæan Republic “ highly complain in a
“ public assembly of this unjust usurpation of a
“ sovereign authority ; and demand by what
“ right the Romans held so haughty a sway over
“ them. If their Commonwealth was not as free
“ and independent as that of Rome ? By what
“ title they pretended to subject the Achæans to
“ give them an account of their conduct ? If
“ they should approve the intermeddling of the
“ Achæans in their affairs ? And whether things
“ ought not to be equal on both sides ? ” All these reflections were just, founded in reason, and unanswerable ; and the Romans had nothing to object but the law of the strongest.

Rome

Rome acted in the same manner, and observed the same policy, with regard to Kings. She first attached those who were weakest, and least capable of resisting her, to herself. She gave them the title of Allies, which in some measure rendered them sacred and inviolable, and which in respect to them was a kind of safe-guard against more powerful Princes. She was industrious to augment their revenues, and extend their dominions, to shew what was to be expected from her protection. This is what raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so high a degree of greatness.

In process of time the Romans under various pretexts attacked these great Potentates, who were the masters of Europe and Asia. And with what haughtiness did they not treat them, even before victory? A powerful King is inclosed within a narrow circle by a private citizen of Rome, and obliged to give his answer before he quits it: what haughtiness was this! But, after having conquered them, in what manner are they treated? They order them to give them their children, and the heirs to their crown as hostages, and securities for their good behaviour, make them lay down their arms, forbid them to make either war or alliances without their good pleasure, drive them beyond mountains, and properly speaking, leave them only an empty title, a phantom of sovereignty, divested of its rights and advantages.

It cannot be doubted, but that Providence had destined the Romans to be the Lords of the world, as their future greatness had been foretold in the scriptures. But these divine oracles were unknown to them; besides which the prediction of their conquests did not justify their ambition, which God vouchsafed to employ for the execution of the designs he had decreed from all eternity. Though it be difficult to be assured, and still more to
prove,

prove, that they had formed the plan of universal dominion from the first, it must be owned on examining their conduct attentively, that they acted as if they always had this view, and that a kind of instinct had induced them to conform to it in all things.

However it were, we see by the event, in what this extraordinary moderation of the Romans, so much boasted by their panegyrists, terminated. Enemies to the liberty of all people, and full of contempt for Kings and regal power, considering the whole universe as their prey, their insatiable ambition took in the conquest of the world: they indiscriminately seized all provinces and kingdoms, and included all the people of the earth under their yoke: in a word, they set no other bounds to their vast designs but such as they were forced to set by desarts and seas. And this we shall evidently see in the sequel.

Hitherto we have seen the glorious ages of the Commonwealth. Ambition, which always was the soul of all the enterprizes of the Romans, was attended with so many glorious actions, such excellent qualities, and shining virtues, that, especially with such great successes, may not seem very reproachable, and may even be considered as a mark of great and noble sentiments, that rise above the pitch of vulgar souls, and which alone can conduce to the glory and augmentation of a State: at least this is the idea the Pagans have of it. This ambition will not always be so modest and reserved. It will soon appear without veil or disguise; and in the latter times of the Commonwealth, it will rise to excesses, which will occasion its ruin, and change the form of the government.

I have said, that Providence destined the Romans to be the future Lords of the Universe. This truth,

truth, which is founded upon revelation, and consequently is incontestable, becomes more and more evident; and with the least attention to the series and order of the events, which history presents us, we perceive, that every thing has relation to, and carries on, the great and eternal design of God concerning the establishment of his church. In proportion as the times of the incarnation approaches, the conquests of the Romans become more rapid, and have manifestly more of prodigy in them. They hasten on to prepare the empire, in which the divine reign of the Son of God is to be established. They render the preaching of the Gospel more easy and immediate; by uniting all nations, so different in manners, customs, languages, and interests, under one and the same government, which will have the same laws, polity, commerce, morals, in which the most rational system of law, that the Pagan world has hitherto produced, will take place, a system that prohibits polygamy, incestuous marriages, arbitrary and licentious divorces, and all the disorders so common, and so authorized in Syria, Egypt, and the East. The third empire formed by Alexander, and divided into four principal monarchies, seems to perceive, that the end of its duration approaches, and hastens to give place to the fourth empire, foretold by the prophet Daniel, which is to swallow up all the empires and states of the universe, in order to incorporate them in itself, and lastly to subject them to JESUS CHRIST, the King of Kings, the Lord and Sovereign of all ages.

Brief discourse upon Triumphs.

AS triumphs are frequently mentioned in the Roman History, I thought it proper to throw together in the same place what is most essential to
the

the knowledge of this subject, and most proper to give the reader a just and sufficient idea of them.

The honour of a triumph was amongst the Romans the most shining and glorious reward of military merit, as the description of what passed in it will soon shew. Accordingly it was the most affecting object of the ambition of Generals, and at the same time a powerful motive for signaling themselves in the command of armies by actions of valour and prudence, and for gaining victories over enemies that might render them worthy of that honour.

Romulus, the founder of Rome, (*a*) a Prince born for great actions, and who had the talent of setting them off, was the first, who after having conquered some neighbouring states, re-entered the city in triumph with his victorious army in the midst of the acclamations and applauses of the whole city.

There were two different kinds of triumphs. The great, properly called *Triumphus*: and the less, called *Ovatio*. The latter is believed to be so called because a sheep was sacrificed in it, whereas a bull was the offering in the great triumph. The Ovation was granted, either when the victory was not very considerable, or when it was gained in the province of another, or by a General, who had commanded without being invested with the office of Prætor or Consul; or lastly, when the enemy were contemptible, as revolted slaves.

The difference between the great and the little triumph, was that in the latter the person who triumphed was not drawn in a chariot, but entered the city on foot, without wearing the habit of triumph, not with a crown of lawrel but of

(*a*) Ipse cùm factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor. *Liv.* i. 10.

myrtle ; and not to the found of trumpets, but only of flutes. In a word, this triumph was much less solemn than the great one. The (a) Consul Postumius Tubertus was the first that triumphed in this manner the 251st year of Rome.

The great triumph was granted only for considerable victories, and according to a law mentioned by Valerius Maximus, it was necessary, that at least five thousand of the enemy should have been killed in the battle itself, and a much less number of the citizens. What had given occasion for this law, was the excessive ambition of some Generals, who for expeditions and battles of little importance, demanded permission to enter Rome in triumph. And that this law might not be rendered ineffectual by fraud and deceit, a second was passed, which obliged Generals to take an oath to the Quæstor of the city, that the number of the enemies and citizens killed in the battle, mentioned in their letters to the Senate, was conformable to truth, and that they had neither augmented the one, nor lessened the other.

The honour of triumph was solely granted for having extended the limits of the State, and not for having only recovered what belonged to it before by force of arms. It was for this reason that Q. Fulvius was refused a triumph, who had retaken Capua; and L. Opimius, who had obliged the Fregellani to return to their obedience to the Roman People.

Whatever good success a General had in a civil war, the Senate neither decreed thanksgivings to the gods, as was usual in other wars, nor granted triumphs for such victories, which though benefi-

(a) Triumphans de Sabinis Postumius Tubertus, qui primus omnium ovans ingressus urbem est, quoniam rem levi-

ter sine cruore gesserat, myrto Veneris Victricis coronatus incessit — Hæc postea ovantium fuit corona. *Plin.* xv. 29.

cial to the Commonwealth, were always considered as mournful and unhappy, having been bought with the blood of the citizens, and rather deserving tears and groans than marks of joy.

The triumph, strictly, was to be granted only, to the person, who had commanded in chief, *cum imperio*, and under whose auspices the war had been made. Thus a Prætor could not aspire to this advantage, when the Consul, to whom he was subordinate, and who alone had fulness of power, Val. Max. was present in the action. It is upon this principle, ii. 2. that in the dispute * which arose between the Consul Lutatius and Valerius Falto the Prætor, Atilius Calatinus, who had been appointed arbitrator, gave the cause in favour of Lutatius. However, as the Consul had been prevented by sickness from acting, and the honour of the victory appertained entirely to the Prætor, he was also granted a triumph.

It was the Senate alone at first that granted triumphs. Dionysius of Halicarnassius observes that P. Servilius Priscus was the first who triumphed by the authority of the People, against the Senate's consent. He was Consul the 259th year of Rome. Livy, who does not mention this triumph, dates this innovation forty-five years later. According to him, it was in the 306th of Rome, that the Consuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius, having conquered the Volsci and the Latines, and not being able to induce the Senate, to whom they were odious, to do them justice, introduced the example of having recourse to the People on the like occasions, and triumphed in virtue of a decree of the People. The Senator C. Claudius, in the discourse he made against this innovation, said

* This fact is related in Vol. IV.

in exprefs terms, (a) that no one had ever applied before for a triumph to the People, and that the power of granting that honour to thofe they judged worthy of it, had always been left to the Senate.

When the Generals could not obtain that honour either from the Senate or the People, and however believed they had deferved it, they made themselves amends in triumphing by their own authority upon the Alban mountain, about twelve miles from Rome. Papirius Mafó was the firft, who introduced this cuftom in the 521ft year of Rome. Marcellus, after the taking of Syracufe, not being able to obtain more than an ovation from the Senate, folemnized the great triumph upon the Alban mountain.

Both triumphs were granted for naval victories as well as for thofe gained by land. The Conful Duilius was the firft who obtained a naval triumph.

The General, who afpired at a triumph, in order to obtain it, was previously to give the Senate an account of his exploits, and of the victory he had obtained. The Senate, for that purpofe, afsembled in the temple of Bellona without the city. If the year of his Confulship or Prætorship was expired, and in Confequence he was only Proconful or Proprætor, as thofe titles were void by his entering the city, and the perfon who triumphed, was to be invefted with the right of commanding, *effe cum imperio*, it was neceffary that one of the Tribunes fhould propofe to the People to exempt the General from the common law, and to grant

(a) Nuncquam antè de triumpho per populum actum. Sen. per affirmationem arbitrii uniusque ejus honoris penes Se-

natum fuiſſe—Tum primùm ſine auctoritate Senatûs, populi juri triumphatum eſt. *Liv.*

him the power of commanding, for the day he was to enter the city in triumph.

When all the preparations for the triumph were compleated, and the day fixed was arrived, the march was begun from the field of Mars. The procession usually entered the city by the gate *Capena*. This pomp was magnificent. I shall soon give an extensive and circumstantial description of it; of which I here intend only a slight image. The pomp began by a great number of carriages laden with different spoils, and all the riches conquered from the enemy. The triumpher was drawn in a chariot with four horses. Immediately before him marched on foot the Officers, Generals, and often Princes and Kings, whom he had taken prisoners. The children of the victor, if he had any, shared in the honour of the triumph with him, either sitting by his side, or riding on horseback, and following him with the principal officers of the army and all the victorious troops, who were at liberty either to sing songs in praise of their General, or even against him. The concourse of the people was infinite. The pomp crossed the Forum and the greatest streets of Rome. (a) When it approached the capitol, the prisoners were carried to the prisons, or frequently, the chiefs of the enemy were put to death on the same day. After the triumpher had performed the duties of religion in the capitol, he conferred different marks of honour upon those, who had distinguished their valour in the battle, and distributed certain sums of money to all the soldiers of the army. The ceremony concluded with a feast, which he gave the principal Senators

(a) Cùm de foro in Capitolium currum flectere incipiunt, illos (duces hostium) duci in carcerem jubent; idemque dies & victoribus imperii, & victis vitæ finem facit. Cic. *Verr. ult. n. 77.*

and officers of the army : after which he was conducted home with a great train, and the sound of drums, trumpets, and all kinds of instruments.

Plutarch, in the life of Paulus Æmilius, has described at large, and in colours equally strong and shining, the march and order of that General's triumph, after having conquered and taken Perseus, the last King of Macedonia. This was one of the most magnificent triumphs, that had ever been seen at Rome. I shall copy almost the whole description of it in this place, which will give the reader an exact idea of that glorious ceremony.

Triumph of Paulus Æmilius extracted from Plutarch.

The order of this triumph was as follows. In all the circusses, *Fora*, and streets, through which the pomp was to pass, scaffolds were erected. All the citizens, dressed in white robes, spared no pains to get places on them. All the temples were opened, the statues of the gods were adorned with crowns and garlands, and incense smoked upon their altars. A great number of Lictors, and other public officers walked on each side with staves in their hands to keep off the crowd, and to open the way.

This procession was divided so as to continue during three days. The first day scarce sufficed for exhibiting to the eyes of the people the statues and paintings, which were placed in two hundred and fifty carriages ; a sight so delightful, that the spectators could not have enough of it.

The second day, the finest and most magnificent arms of the Macedonians were exposed to view, the brass and steel of which being new polished, glittered in such a manner as to dazzle the sight. They were carried upon an infinite number

ber of carriages, and though disposed with much art, order and symmetry, they seemed to be thrown together by chance; and this seeming confusion, though nicely studied, very agreeably amused the spectators, and gave them a sensible pleasure. Helmets and bucklers, cuirasses and buskins, Cretan large shields and those of Thrace, and quivers mingled with bits and bridles, were grouped together. On the one side naked swords, and on the other long Macedonian spears, projecting on the right and left, presented their sharp and menacing points on all sides. All these different piles were tied neither too close nor too loose, so that the motion of the carriages making so many different pieces strike against and clash with each other, they gave a warlike and terrible sound: and those arms, though conquered and taken, inspired even the victors with a kind of dread and horror.

After all these carriages full of arms, came three thousand men carrying coined money in seven hundred and fifty vases each, containing about * three talents, born by four men. These three thousand men were followed by a great number of others, who carried urns and cisterns of silver, cups made like horns, bowls and flaggons, all artificially disposed, and every one remarkable in itself for its magnitude, weight, and the ornaments in relief upon it.

** Mr. Dacier, in his translation of Plutarch's lives, gives us the value of the sums both in gold and silver mentioned here, as follows.*

eighteen thousand drachmas, that is about four hundred and fifty pounds sterling. Consequently in the 750 vases, there were about three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling.

In each vase there were three talents of silver worth

The third day, the trumpets early in the morning marched at the head of the whole procession, not playing the airs usual upon solemn festivals, but such as are used to animate the courage of the soldiers when they are led to battle. They were followed by an hundred and twenty fat bulls, with gilt horns, and adorned with wreaths of garlands, led by young persons with aprons edged with purple, who were to sacrifice them. Children came next carrying the gold and silver vessels used in the sacrifices.

The gold coin followed these carried in seventy seven * vases, each containing three talents, and born by four men. These vases were followed by those who carried the sacred bowl of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made of the weight of ten † talents and adorned with precious stones. After this bowl walked those who carried the bowls called *Antigonides*, *Seleucides*, (from the name of Antigonus and Seleucus antient

* Each of the seventy seven vases contained three talents of gold, and as in these times gold was valued only at ten times as much silver, the three talents of gold were worth thirty of silver. Thus there was in each vase about four thousand five hundred pounds; and consequently in the 77 there were in all about three hundred and forty one thousand five hundred pounds. According to this estimate, the specie money in specie amounted to about six hundred and eighty four thousand pounds. Valerius Antias, cited by Livy xlv. 40. makes this sum amount to 7000000. Valerius Paternus i. 9. to one

million three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds. The sums brought from Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius must have been very considerable, as, according to Cicero, Off. ii. 76. they sufficed to abolish the taxes paid by the Roman People.

† That is to say of six hundred pounds in weight, for the talent weighed sixty pounds. Thus there was to the value of an hundred thousands crowns of gold in this cup: this was a very magnificent one: but what must the precious stones with which it was adorned, have added to its worth?

Kings of Macedonia who had used them) and the *Thericleæ*; (from the name of Thericles, an excellent artist who had designed and executed the workmanship of them) and those who carried the gold plate of Perseus.

Immediately after came the chariot of that Prince with his arms, and upon his arms his diadem. At some small distance followed his children with their governors, præceptors, and all the officers of their household, who weeping held out their hands to the people, and taught their illustrious, but unfortunate, pupils, humbly to implore the mercy of the victors. These children were three in number, two Princes and a Princess, whose condition seemed the more worthy of pity, as in their infant state, they were less sensible of their misery. So mournful a sight, which was capable of melting the hardest hearts, drew tears from the eyes of almost all that were present, and rendered them unconcerned and indifferent in respect to the fate of the King.

He followed his children, and all their train, in a mourning robe, and in the highest anguish and confusion, like a man whom the greatness of his misfortunes had entirely deprived of sense and reason. The Queen his wife was with him, according to Zonaras. After him came a troop of his friends and courtiers, who walking bare headed, and with their eyes fixed upon him, sufficiently intimated to the spectators, that they were little affected with their own fate, and had no sense but for that of their King.

After this crowd of the officers and domesticks of Perseus, four hundred crowns were carried, which cities had sent Paulus Æmilius by their Ambassadors, as the reward of his victory.

Paulus Æmilius appeared last, in a superb chariot, magnificently adorned. Though only his
I person

person had been exhibited, that had merited all attention without the pomp and splendor which surrounded him. But his noble mien was exalted by his robe of purple embroidered with gold ; and he carried a branch of lawrel in his right hand. Amongst the other illustrious persons in his train his two sons Q. Maximus and P. Scipio were conspicuous. His whole army followed his chariot drawn up by corps in good order, with lawrel branches also in their hands, and singing sometimes verses full of taunts against their General, a liberty allowed and usual upon these occasions, and sometimes songs of triumph full of praises of his great and glorious exploits.

We must own that nothing could be more soothing to Generals, who had gained signal victories over the enemies of the State, than to re-enter Rome with such great pomp, in the midst of the acclamations and applauses of an innumerable multitude, and followed by all their victorious troops. And in consequence this pomp appeared too glorious for private persons. Agrippa no doubt in concert with Augustus, was the first who set the example of refusing a triumph, which had been decreed him. That example became a rule ; and from thenceforth, the Emperors reserved solely to themselves the glory of triumphing, and gave only the ornaments of triumph to private persons.

But if, by the pomp of triumph, military merit was gloriously rewarded, with what pride and haughtiness must such a sight inspire the Roman citizens, who, accustomed from their infancy to see Kings and Princes ignominiously led before the chariots of superb victors, considered themselves as the masters and supreme arbiters of the fate of whatever is greatest and most honoured amongst mankind ? Did there appear the least trace of humanity in a ceremony, wherein Kings and Queens
in

in chains were exhibited as a spectacle to the public? Was it not affecting to shew an injurious contempt for the majesty of thrones, and to insult all the Kings of the earth, to degrade Princes in this manner, whose only crime was often to have been overcome? It is not customary for the (a) misfortunes of Kings to excite compassion, and ought not their very name, which is always venerable and sacred, to give them refuge from such indignities? I do not know how Rome could justify acts of inhumanity so contrary to that goodness and clemency, upon which she piqued herself on all other occasions.

(a) Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam — quòd regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. *Cic. pro. leg. Man. 24.*

BOOK THE TWENTY FOURTH.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

THIS book contains the space of eleven years, from 563, to 573. It treats principally of the end of the war with the Ætolians, the victories of Manlius over the Gauls in Asia, the accusation of Scipio Africanus, and his retreat to Linternum ; the fanaticism of the Bacchanalians discovered and punished ; the discontent of Philip King of Macedonia against the Romans ; the Censorship of Cato ; and the unhappy death of Demetrius son of Philip.

SECT. I.

Manius Acilius triumphs over the Ætolians. The Romans defeated in Spain under Paulus Æmilius. Youth of Paulus Æmilius. That General's family. The Ætolian Ambassadors are ordered to quit Rome and Italy, without having obtained peace. Death of the Prætor Bæbius. Paulus Æmilius gains a great battle over the Lusitanians in Spain. Warm contest in respect to the Censorship. Amyntander is reinstated in his kingdom by the Ætolians. The news of the approaching arrival of the Consuls occasions great consternation among the Ætolians. The Consul Fulvius arrives in Greece. He forms
the

the siege of Ambracia, which makes a vigorous defence. The Ætolians demand and at length obtain peace. Ambracia surrenders. The Ætolian Ambassadors set out for Rome. The treaty of peace is ratified there. The Consul Manlius makes war against the Gallo-Grecians. He arrives in their country, and exhorts his soldiers to do their duty well. Two of the three bodies of the Gauls retire to mount Olympus. The Romans attack and defeat them there. The Consul approaches Ancyra, to attack the third body of the Gauls. Extraordinary action of a female Gaulish prisoner. Second victory over the Gauls. Manlius returns to Ephesus. Censorship exercised with abundance of lenity. The Consul Fulvius takes Samos by assault, and reduces the whole island of Cephallenia. New Consuls. Eclipse of the sun. Embassy from the states of Asia to Manlius. Embassies from Antiochus, the Gauls, and Ariarathes. Conditions of the Treaty concluded between the Roman People and Antiochus. Reflections upon Antiochus. Unfortunate death of that Prince. Decrees and regulations in respect to the Kings and cities of Asia. Manlius returns to Europe, and leads back his army into Greece.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

C. LÆLIUS.

NOT to interrupt the series of what relates to the war with Antiochus, I have omitted some facts, to which I now return.

Whilst the things of which I have spoke in the preceding book passed in Asia, the two Proconsuls Q. Minucius and Manius Acilius returned almost at the same time to Rome; both with the hopes of triumphing, the first over the Ligurians, and the other over the Ætolians, whom they had

*Manius
Acilius
triumphs
over the
Ætolians.
Liv.*

xxxvii. 46.

con-

A. R. 562. conquered. Minucius was refused that honour,
 ANL C. 190. Acilius, as I have already said, triumphed over Antiochus, and the Ætolians with abundance of pomp and magnificence.

*The Ro-
mans de-
feated in
Spain un-
der Paulus
Æmilius.
Ibid.*

The joy occasioned by this shew was soon interrupted, by the bad news received from Spain. The Proconsul Æmilius having been defeated by the Lusitanians, had left six thousand men upon the spot, and marched back the rest trembling into their camp, which they had defended with great difficulty, and in which they were even afraid to continue, and retired by forced marches into an Ally's country. This was the same Paulus Æmilius, who was afterwards so famous by conquering Perseus King of Macedonia. A defeat ought not to discredit a General, to whom it may prove very useful, by inducing him to make noble efforts to retrieve his reputation, as we shall soon see Paulus Æmilius did the year following. As he will act a great part in the Commonwealth, I shall insert some strokes of his life in this place extracted from Plutarch.

*Troub of
Paulus
Æmilius.
Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.*

L. Æmilius Paulus his father, who commanded, and was killed, at the battle of Cannæ, had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to the great Scipio, and a son called as well as himself Paulus Æmilius, which last is the person in question. He came into the world at a time, when a great number of persons illustrious for their virtues and exploits flourished; and he distinguished himself in a particular manner, though different from that in which young persons acquired reputation at that time. For he did not apply himself to the eloquence of the bar, and he renounced intrigues, solicitations, caresses, and the other methods practised by most People to gain the favour of the People, by insinuating themselves into their good opinion by an avowed passion

sion to please them. He did not take pains to make himself known and esteemed, except by valour, justice, and a strict attachment to all his duties, wherein he surpassed all the young persons of his time.

A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

The first considerable office he stood for, was the Ædileship, and the preference was given to him against ten competitors, all so distinguished by birth and merit, that not one of them but afterwards attained the Consulship.

Having been admitted into the college of Augurs, who were a certain number of priests, to whom the Romans assigned the care and superintendency of the divinations taken from birds, and all signs and prodigies that passed in the heavens, he applied himself in an extraordinary manner to the study of the antient rites and ceremonies of religion. As he took great care not to innovate in any thing, he was also very circumspect in observing the slightest formalities, convinced, that as in the administration of the public affairs the Augurs had a considerable share, when small matters are neglected, such negligences by degrees induce the violation of the most important rules, and open a door for a pernicious licence.

He was no less exact and severe in re-establishing, and causing to be observed, all the regulations of military discipline. Whilst he commanded the armies, he was never seen either to flatter, or caress, his soldiers, in order to gain their opinion by weak and mean complacency, as many other Generals did. He explained the minutest duties of their profession to his troops, shewing himself terrible and inexorable to such as disobeyed, and holding it for a maxim, that to conquer the enemy, was almost a necessary consequence of the war taken to form and discipline his countrymen.

He

A. R. 562.

Ant C. 190.

That Ge-

neral's fa-

mily.

Ibid.

He had for his first wife married Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Mæso, who had been Consul. After having lived a long time with her, and had two sons by her, he repudiated her; some motive not come down to us having determined him to that divorce. But, adds Plutarch here, in respect to separations of marriage, nothing seems more true than what a Roman said to his friends, who reproached him on that head, and asked him, *Is not your wife prudent? Is not she handsome? Has not she brought you fine children?* To all these questions he made no other answer than by shewing them his shoe, and asking them in his turn: *Is not this shoe handsome? Is it not well made? But none of you know where it hurts me.*

Divorces were allowed at Rome by the laws of the twelve tables: however no examples of them had been known before the 520th year. JESUS CHRIST, by absolutely condemning divorces, reinstated marriage according to its primitive intention, and re-established it in its primæval purity.

In the room of Papiria, Paulus Æmilius married another, by whom he had two male children, whom he kept in his house: and the two others whom he had by his first wife he caused to be adopted into the principal and most illustrious houses of Rome. His eldest was adopted by the son of Fabius Maximus, five times Consul and Dictator; and the second by the son of Scipio Africanus, who thereby became his father by adoption, and his cousin at the same time. It is this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who is so well known in history under the name of the second Scipio Africanus. Of the two daughters of Paulus Æmilius, the one was married to the son of Cato the Censor, and the other to Tubero, a person very venerable for his virtue, and one who of
all

all the Romans sustained himself with the greatest magnanimity and constancy in his poverty, as we shall see in the sequel. A. R. 562.
Ant. C. 190.

This account of the children of Paulus Æmilius will be necessary for the understanding of many facts, which we shall relate in their place.

Livy, after having related the defeat of this General in few words, says that the colonies of Placentia and Cremona were repeopled by sending six thousand men to them; and that two new ones were settled in the country which had been conquered from the Boii. Liv.
xxxvii. 42.

In the assembly which was held for the election of Consuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior was nominated alone, because none of the other candidates had the competent number of suffrages, that is to say, half of the centuries. The next day Fulvius appointed Cn. Manlius Vulso his colleague.

M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

CN. MANLIUS VULSO.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 181.

The Ambassadors from the Ætolians, having been admitted into the Senate, should have been induced by the remembrance of their past conduct, and by the unhappy condition, to which they were actually reduced, to confess their fault or their imprudence, and humbly to ask pardon for them. But according to their arrogant and untractable disposition they boasted the services they pretended to have rendered the Roman People; and by almost reproaching them, that it was to their valour they were indebted for their victory over Philip, they gave great offence to all their auditors by so insolent a discourse; and by calling to mind antient and forgotten facts, they effectually made the Senate remember a much greater number of circumstances disadvantageous to their nation, The Ætolian Ambassadors are expelled Rome and Italy, without obtaining peace.
Liv.
xxxvii. 49.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 185.

nation, than they could instance in its favour. In effect, instead of exciting sentiments of compassion, that might save them, they only inflamed the hatred and wrath, which occasioned their destruction. A Senator having asked them, whether they absolutely abandoned themselves to the faith of the Roman People; and another, whether for the future they were determined to have no friends nor enemies but those of Rome, they gave no satisfactory answer to these questions, which occasioned their being ordered to quit the house. The Senators then cried out with one voice, “ That the Ætolians still adhered to Antiochus more than ever. (King Antiochus had not yet been defeated by Scipio) and that it was this, that still kept up in them the spirit of revolt: that in consequence war must be made against them with the utmost vigour till their pride and arrogance should be effectually humbled.” What raised the indignation of the Romans to its highest pitch, was its being known, that at the time they demanded peace of the Senate, they actually made war themselves against the Dolopians and Athamantes, People in the neighbourhood of Epirus, and consequently were attacking Philip then the ally of Rome. The Senate therefore passed a decree by which they were ordered to quit Rome that day, and all

The provinces of the Generals came on next in the Senate. Ætolia fell by lot to M. Fulvius, and Asia to Cn. Manlius.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.
Liv.
xxxvii. 50.

It was at this time Cotta brought the news of the victory gained over Antiochus to Rome, and the Ambassadors of Eumenes, of the Rhodians, and Antiochus had audience.

Soon after came Ambassadors from the Mæsylians, who informed the Senate, that L. Bæbius, on setting out for his province in Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians, who had killed the greatest part of those with him, and had wounded himself. That that General having been carried by his order to Marseilles without Lictors, with a small number of followers, had died there the third day after his arrival. P. Junius Brutus, who commanded in Tuscany, was sent in his place, and charged with the command in Hispania Ulterior.

Death of the Prætor Bæbius.
Ibid. 57.

At the same time came advice, that L. Æmilius Paulus, who, the year before, had been defeated in that province, having drawn an army together hastily, before his successor came to relieve him, had given the Lusitanians battle, had killed them eighteen thousand men, and taken thirteen hundred prisoners, with their camp.

Paulus Æmilius gains a great battle over the Lusitanians in Spain.
Ibid.

The election of Censors occasioned a very warm contest at Rome, because many of the most il-

Warm dispute concerning

A. R. 562.
 Ant C. 190.
That Ge-
neral's fa-
mily.
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Liv.
xxxvii. 49.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 185.

nation, than they could instance in its favour. In effect, instead of exciting sentiments of compassion, that might save them, they only inflamed the hatred and wrath, which occasioned their destruction. A Senator having asked them, whether they absolutely abandoned themselves to the faith of the Roman People; and another, whether for the future they were determined to have no friends nor enemies but those of Rome, they gave no satisfactory answer to these questions, which occasioned their being ordered to quit the house. The Senators then cried out with one voice, “ That the Ætolians still adhered to Antiochus more than ever. (King Antiochus had not yet been defeated by Scipio) and that it was this, that still kept up in them the spirit of revolt: that in consequence war must be made against them with the utmost vigour till their pride and arrogance should be effectually humbled.” What raised the indignation of the Romans to its highest pitch, was its being known, that at the time they demanded peace of the Senate, they actually made war themselves against the Dolopians and Athamantes, People in the neighbourhood of Epirus, and consequently were attacking Philip then the ally of Rome. The Senate therefore passed a decree by which they were ordered to quit Rome that day, and all Italy in fifteen. A. Terentius Varro had orders to attend them as far as the sea; and before they set out, they were told, that all Ambassadors, who should come from them, should be treated for the future as enemies, unless they should first have obtained permission from the Roman General, who commanded in Greece, and were accompanied by a Roman officer. In this manner they were dismissed.

The provinces of the Generals came on next in the Senate. Ætolia fell by lot to M. Fulvius, and Asia to Cn. Manlius.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.
Liv.
xxxvii. 50.

It was at this time Cotta brought the news of the victory gained over Antiochus to Rome, and the Ambassadors of Eumenes, of the Rhodians, and Antiochus had audience.

Soon after came Ambassadors from the Mæsylians, who informed the Senate, that L. Bæbius, on setting out for his province in Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians, who had killed the greatest part of those with him, and had wounded himself. That that General having been carried by his order to Marseilles without Lictors, with a small number of followers, had died there the third day after his arrival. P. Junius Brutus, who commanded in Tuscany, was sent in his place, and charged with the command in Hispania Ulterior.

Death of the Prætor Bæbius.
Ibid. 57.

At the same time came advice, that L. Æmilius Paulus, who, the year before, had been defeated in that province, having drawn an army together hastily, before his successor came to relieve him, had given the Lusitanians battle, had killed them eighteen thousand men, and taken thirteen hundred prisoners, with their camp.

Paulus Æmilius gains a great battle over the Lusitanians in Spain.
Ibid.

The election of Censors occasioned a very warm contest at Rome, because many of the most illustrious Senators demanded that office with abundance of warmth. M. Porcius Cato was of this number. It was conferred upon T. Quintius Flamininus, and M. Claudius Marcellus.

Warm dispute concerning the Censorship.
Liv.

Whilst the war was carrying on in Asia, Ætolia was not left in tranquillity. New troubles had arose in Athamania. After Amynander had been driven out of his dominions, they had been governed by Philip's lieutenants, who by their avarice, pride, and cruelty, had so exasperated the

Amynander is reinstated in his kingdom by the Ætolians.
Liv.
xxxviii. 1.

A. R. 563.
 Ant. C. 198.

People, that they resolved to call in their old master, whose lenity and moderation they regretted. Amynder, supported by the Ætolians, repossessed himself of his kingdom. Philip no sooner received advice of the revolt of the Athamians, than he set out with six thousand men, and entered their country. But having used vain efforts to reduce them, he was obliged to return to Macedonia. Amynder sent Ambassadors to the Roman Senate, and into Asia to the two Scipios, who had halted at Ephesus, to give the troops rest after the defeat of Antiochus. He demanded peace, and excused himself for having employed the arms of the Ætolians, in repossessing himself of his territories. He complained particularly of Philip's injustice.

The news of the approaching arrival of the Consul terrifies the Ætolians.
 Liv.
 xxxviii. 3.

The Ætolians having subjected the Dolopians and Amphilochians, and reinstated Amynder in Athamania, began to exult for those successes, when they were informed that the Romans had overcome Antiochus in Asia. Some days after the Ambassadors whom they had sent to Rome, returned without bringing back the peace they went to ask, and acquainted them, that the Consul Fulvius had already passed the sea with his army. Terrified with this news, they resolved to send new Ambassadors to Rome, chosen out of the principal persons of their nation, after having engaged the Rhodians and Athenians to join theirs with them. They were in hopes, that the

The Consul Fulvius arrives in Greece and besieges Ambracia, which

makes a vigorous defence.
 Liv.
 xxxviii.

credit of those two republicks would make the Senate comply with the request, which it had before rejected.

Fulvius in the mean time landed at Apollonia. The first thing which he did was to consult with the principal persons of Epirus in what manner he should commence the war against the Ætolians. They advised him to begin by the siege of Ambracia, which at that time was gone over to the Ætolians.

This

This city, besides being defended on one side by the river Arethon, and on the other by a very steep mountain, was surrounded by a solid wall three miles in circumference. The Consul used all methods the art of war afforded for sieges in those days. It was of extreme importance to him with respect to his own reputation, and the success of the whole campaign, to succeed in his first enterprize. The attack was of the most vigorous kind, and the defence no less so. A reinforcement of five hundred chosen men, whom the Ætolians found means to throw into the place, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Romans, very much augmented the courage and confidence of the besieged. They employed new inventions every day for burning the machines of the enemy. They made frequent sallies, in which they had almost always the advantage. Their defence was so vigorous and obstinate, that the Consul almost repented having undertaken this siege, the success of which began to appear doubtful to him.

The Ætolians, on their side, were in no less anxiety. On the one hand Ambracia was vigorously pressed; on the other their sea coasts were ravaged by the Roman fleet: and lastly, Amphilochia and Dolopia were a prey to the Macedonians. It was absolutely impossible for them to sustain the war at the same time in three different places. Things being in this state, the Prætor assembled the principal persons of the nation, to know what they would advise him to do. “ All
“ were of opinion that it was necessary to ask
“ peace, and to conclude it upon advantageous
“ conditions if possible, or at least supportable
“ ones, if they could not do otherwise. That
“ they had undertaken the war with the hope of
“ being supported by the forces of Antiochus.
“ But in what manner could they carry it on after

*The Æto-
lians ask
and at
length ob-
tain peace.
Ambracia
surrenders.
Liv.
xxxviii.
8, 9.*

A. R. 563. " that Prince had been defeated by sea and land,
 Ant. C. 189. " and driven almost out of the bounds of the
 " universe beyond the heights of mount Taurus?
 " That Pheneas, and Damoteles should have full
 " power to act according to their zeal and abili-
 " ties in the present conjuncture, as they should
 " judge most expedient for the service of their
 " country, as fortune had reduced the Ætolians to
 " receive the law from others."

The Ambassadors being arrived with these powers, " desired the Consul to spare Ambracia,
 " and to have compassion upon a nation formerly
 " an Ally, and which had been led on into fool-
 " ish enterprizes, if not by injuries actually done
 " them, at least by the calamities to which they
 " had been reduced. That the Romans had not
 " more reason to complain of the prejudice re-
 " ceived from the Ætolians in the war with An-
 " tiochus than to praise them for the services they
 " had done them in that with Philip; and that,
 " as in the latter their reward from the Romans
 " had not been considerable, in the other it was
 " but equitable not to carry their punishment in-
 " to excessive rigour."

The Consul replied, " That the Ætolians had
 " often recourse to requests to obtain an end of
 " the war, but always with little faith and sin-
 " cerity. That in asking peace they should imi-
 " tate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the
 " war. That that Prince had not only renounced
 " a small number of cities, to which the Romans
 " were desirous to restore liberty, but all that
 " part of Asia situated on this side of mount
 " Taurus, that is to say, to an extent of country
 " capable of forming an opulent and considerable
 " kingdom. That as to him, he would give no
 " ear to the Ætolians, till they had laid down
 " their arms. That they must begin by deliver-
 " ing

“ ing them up to the Romans with all their
 “ horses. That further they should pay the Ro-
 “ mans a thousand talents (about an hundred and
 “ fifty thousand pounds) half down, and should
 “ engage by the treaty to have no other friends
 “ nor enemies but those of Rome.”

The Ambassadors thinking these conditions extremely hard, and distrusting the inconstant and inflexible disposition of those who sent them, returned without giving the Consul any answer, to consult the Prætor and Heads of the nation again. They were very ill received. They were reproached, that, with orders to conclude a peace on any conditions whatsoever, they exposed Ætolia to a more severe treatment by their slowness and protraction. They therefore set out again to return to Ambracia. But they fell into an ambuscade laid for them on the way by the Acarnanians, with whom the Ætolians were at war, and were carried prisoners to Thyrium, where they were confined. And this retarded the conclusion of the peace.

The Ambassadors of the Rhodians and Athenians were already in the Consul's camp, to whom they came to demand grace for the Ætolians, when Amynder King of the Athamantes, after having provided himself with a passport, came thither also, in order to intercede, less for the Ætolians in general than the city of Ambracia in particular, where he had resided during the greatest part of his banishment. The Consul having been informed by them of the mischance of the Ambassadors, ordered, that they should be brought to him from Thyrium, and when they arrived the negotiation was renewed. Amynder earnestly solicited the Ambracians to surrender, for that was what he had most at heart. And as he found it difficult to persuade their magistrates,

A. R. 563.
 Ann. C. 189.

in the conferences he had with them at the foot of the walls, he entered the city by the permission of the Consul, and adding intreaties to counsels, he at length prevailed upon them, to open their gates to the Romans, after having taken the Consul's promise, that the Ætolian garrison might quit the place, and retire unmolested.

The surrender of Ambracia very much advanced the conclusion of the peace. C. Valerius, the son of Lævinus uterine brother of the Consul, who had contracted an amity with the Ætolians, was of great service on this occasion to obtain easier conditions for them. “Fulvius only required of
 “them five hundred Euboic talents (something
 “less than seventy five thousand pounds) of
 “which two hundred were to be paid down, and
 “the rest in six half-yearly payments. That
 “they should restore their prisoners and deserters
 “to the Romans. That they should hold none
 “of the cities, which, since the arrival of T.
 “Quintius in Greece, had either been taken
 “from the Romans, or had surrendered volun-
 “tarily. That the island of Cephallenia should
 “not be included in the treaty.” Though the Ambassadors had no room to expect such gentle treatment, they however demanded and obtained permission to return and consult their nation. The conditions of peace were accepted with unanimous consent.

The Ambracians made the Consul a present of a gold crown, that weighed an hundred and fifty pounds, and that General took away all the marble and brass statues and pictures in Ambracia, which were more in number, and of greater value than in any other city of the country, because Pyrrhus had formerly his palace there. But he took no other spoils from thence. He had done better, if he had not caused these statues and
 paint-

paintings to be carried to Rome, where this taste, ^{A. R. 563.}
the consequences of which were so pernicious, be- ^{Ant. C. 189.}
gan to gain ground; and every body knows the
bad effects it had there.

The Consul having set out from Ambracia, ^{The Am-}
entered into the heart of Ætolia. The Ambassa- ^{bassadors}
dors of the Ætolians came thither to him. Being ^{of the}
informed by them, that the conditions of peace ^{Ætolians}
were accepted in a general assembly, he ordered ^{set out for}
them to go to Rome, permitted them to carry ^{Rome.}
with them the deputies from Rhodes and Athens, ^{The treaty}
to intercede for them with the Senate; and hav- ^{of peace is}
ing also given his consent, that his brother C. Va- ^{ratified}
lerius should accompany them, he went to Ce- ^{there.}
phallenia. ^{Liv.}
^{xxxviii.}
^{10, 11.}

When the Ætolians arrived at Rome, they
found the city highly prejudiced against them, by
the letters which Philip had taken care to send
thither. The repeated complaints of that Prince
had shut the ears of the Senators against the re-
quest of the Ætolians. However the Senate heard
the Ambassadors of Rhodes and Athens with abun-
dant attention. Leon, who spoke in the
name of the Athenians, used a similitude which,
though common, made an impression upon them,
“ After (a) having compared Ætolia to a calm
“ sea when the winds do not ruffle it, he added,
“ that when those People continued in the alliance
“ and amity of the Romans, they enjoyed that
“ state of tranquillity which was natural to them.
“ But that Thoas and Dicæarchus, Mænetas,

(a) Vulgata similitudine, bat: postea quàm flare ab
mari tranquillo, quod ventis Asia Thoas & Dicæarchus,
concitaretur, æquiparando mul- ab Europa Menetas & Damo-
titudinem Ætolorum, usus, critus cœpissent; tum illam
cum in fide Romanæ socie- tempestatem coortam, quæ
tatis mansissent, insita gentis ad Antiochum eos, sicut ad
tranquillitate quiesse eos aie- scopulum intulisset. Liv.

“ and

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189. “ and Damocritus, blowing like tempestuous
“ winds, the two first from Asia, and the two
“ last from Europe, had occasioned the storm,
“ which had driven them to Antiochus, as upon
“ a rock where they had split.” After many
difficulties and delays, the Ætolians at
length obtained peace, which was ratified almost
upon the same terms, as had been dictated by
Fulvius. They were left at liberty to pay gold
instead of silver, if they chose it, provided the
* difference between one species and the other
should be only as ten to one.

Whilst the Consul Fulvius made war in this
manner, and afterwards peace with the Ætolians,
Manlius his colleague also undertook a war in a
region of Asia remote enough, against the Gauls
settled in those countries, and called by the Ro-
mans Gallo-Grecians: I shall soon shew why they
were so called, and where situated.

The Consul
Manlius
commanded
the troops
from L. Scipio.
After hav-
ing reviewed
them, he as-
sembled the
soldiers,
and having
praised the
valour, with
which they
had conquered
Antiochus in
a single bat-
tle, he ex-
horted them
to act in the
same manner
against the
Gauls, who
had aided that
Prince, and
who were of
so savage and
untractable
a disposition,
that they had
driven Antio-
chus beyond
mount Taurus
to no purpose,
if they left so
fierce and
powerful a
People on this
side of it.
He spoke of
himself in few
words and with
modesty, without
saying any thing,
of which the
truth was not
known to all
the world.”

* The difference between gold and silver was in earlier times as fifteen to one. Gold, by increasing, had lost a third of its value.

His discourse in effect was approved by every body. The soldiers did not much apprehend the Gauls, who having been defeated when joined with the numerous army of Antiochus, would be still less in a condition to resist the Romans alone.

That People, about ninety years before the time of which we are speaking, leaving Gaul their native country in multitudes, either because it was too small to contain them, or from the hope of spoils, persuaded besides, that they should find no nation on their route equal to them in valour, arrived under the command of Brennus in the country of the Dardanians. At that time a sedition arose, which separated the nation into two bodies. The one remained with Brennus their first leader; these were those, whose disaster before Ephesus is so famous in history: the others, to the number of twenty thousand, having chosen Leonorius and Lutarius to command them, went with them to Thrace. There, by valiantly fighting those who endeavoured to stop them, and laying others, who demanded peace, under contribution, they forced their way as far as Byzantium; and during a long time caused all the cities of Propontis to pay tribute, of which they had made themselves masters. Afterwards knowing from their own experience how fertile the countries of Asia were, they resolved to go thither in order to settle. In consequence having seized Lýsimachia by treachery, and subjected the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they extended their power to the banks of the Hellespont. Perceiving from thence the rich country separated from them only by a very narrow arm of the sea, they conceived a still more eager desire to go thither. Accordingly they sent Ambassadors to Antipater the Governor on that side, to demand his permission

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 189.

sion for that purpose. But as he amused them with promises without concluding any thing, Lutatius passed the streight, and entered Asia, whither Leonorius soon followed him. When joined together, they aided Nicomedes King of Bythynia, who by their means became master of the whole country called by that name, of which Zybetes occupied a part. From Bithynia, they advanced into Asia. Of twenty thousand men which they were at first, only ten thousand remained. However they had implanted such a terror in all the States, that inhabited on this side of mount Taurus, that there was not one, which did not submit to pay them tribute, the most remote as well as those nearest them, those who had not made trial of their valour as well as those they had defeated. Lastly, as the body which remained was originally composed of three septs joined together, as the Tolistoboi, Troemes, and Tectosages, they also divided Asia Minor into three parts, each of which paid tribute to one of the three nations. The Troemes for their part had the coast of the Hellespont; Æolis and Ionia fell to the Tolistoboi; and the middle of the country to the Tectosages: so that they had rendered tributary all the part of Asia on this side mount Taurus. As to them, they established their abode in the neighbourhood of the river Halys, and this was properly the country called Gallo-Græcia. As most of the antient inhabitants were colonies from Greece, these Gauls mixed with them were called for that reason Gallo-Græcians. In process of time they multiplied so much, and became so formidable, that at length the Kings of Syria themselves did not refuse to pay them tribute. Attalus, the father of Eumenes, was the first Prince that inhabited Asia, who had the courage to refuse it; and having gi-
ven

ven them battle, he gained a considerable victory over them contrary to the expectation of all the world. But this did not discourage them so much, as to make them renounce their empire over the country. They retained their power till the war between Antiochus and the Romans. And even after that Prince was defeated and driven out of it, they with reason imagined, that, remote as they were from the sea, the Roman army would not undertake to come against them.

They were mistaken. The Consul formed the design of going to attack them. He was sorry for the absence of Eumenes, who was still at Rome; because that Prince perfectly knew the country and the enemy, and it was for his interest to be delivered from such incommodious neighbours as the Gauls. In his absence he sent for his brother Attalus from Pergamus, and having exhorted him to join him against the common enemy, he sent him back to prepare such aids as he was capable of supplying.

Some days after going from Ephesus to Magnesia, he met Attalus there, who came thither with a thousand foot, and two hundred horse. He had ordered his brother Athenæus to follow him with the rest of the troops, and had left the care of Pergamus to ministers, whose zeal and fidelity he knew. Manlius gave this young Prince the praises he deserved for his attachment to the interests of the Roman People, and went to incamp with him upon the banks of the Meander, till the barks were drawn together, that were necessary for transporting his troops to the other side of that river, which was too deep to be forded. Athenæus joined him soon after, with a thousand foot of different nations, and three hundred horse. When the Consul arrived at Antioch upon the Meander, Seleucus the son of Antiochus came to him in his camp,

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.

Manlius
marches
against
the Gallo-
Græcians.
Liv.
xxxviii.
12—15.

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.

camp, bringing with him the corn, which his father, by the treaty concluded with Scipio, was obliged to furnish the Roman army.

From thence Manlius, setting out first, reduced all on his way either by consent or force. He met with some resistance in certain places, but being infinitely superior both by the number and valour of his troops, he easily subjected them, and laid them all under contribution. The sums he made them pay, without including the corn he obliged them to supply, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five talents of silver, that is two hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns.

He arrives upon their lands, and exhorts his soldiers to do their duty well.

After a very long march, he at length arrived upon the lands of the Tolistoboi. The Gauls were in great reputation throughout this country, which they had subjected by arms, and in which every thing had been made to submit to them. He thought it proper to prepare his troops, and to destroy this prejudice, before he came to action. *I am not surprized, said he to them, that the Gauls have spread the terror of their name amongst so soft and effeminate a people as these of Asia. Their tall stature, their fair hair that reaches to the small of their backs, their bucklers of enormous size, their long swords, besides the songs, cries, and howling which they raise before battle, with the terrible noise they make with their arms and shields; all these may perhaps frighten men not used to them, but not you, Romans, who have so often triumphed over this nation. Besides which, you know by experience, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance from an enemy blunts the edge of their courage, as well as the vigour of their bodies; and that incapable of bearing the heat of the sun, fatigues, dust, and thirst, their arms fall out of their hands, and they sink down weary and exhausted. Do not imagine these the antient Gauls inured to fatigue and danger,*

danger, and to whom a certain natural ferocity served instead of courage. The plenty of the country they have seized, the mildness of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and voluptuousness of the people with whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated them. (a) For it is with men, as with plants. Those which grow in their native soil, retain all their vigour and virtue; whereas those which are transplanted into a foreign one, soon degenerate. It is with justice that these people are called Gallo-Grecians. They are only Phrygians covered with Gaulish arms, and all that I fear is, that the defeat of enemies so little worthy of your swords, may not be much for your honour.

After this discourse of Manlius, the army by its cries declared its impatience to be led against the enemy. When they had passed the river Sangarius, the Gaulish priests of Cybele came from Pessinus to meet him in their sacerdotal habits, and pronouncing with enthusiasm prophetic verses, of which the sense was, that the goddess granted the Romans a safe and an easy passage, victory over their enemies, and the dominion of all this region. The Consul answered, that he accepted the omen, and pursued his march.

At length arriving in the enemy's country, he was informed that the Tolistoboi had taken refuge upon mount Olympus; the Tectosages at some distance from thence upon another mountain; and that the Trocmes, having left their wives and children in the camp of the latter, had resolved to go to the aid of the Tolistoboi. What had determined them to take this resolution, was the hope that the Romans would not march in quest of them upon inaccessible eminences; and that if they

(a) *Hi tam degeneres sunt; servandam indolem valent, misti, & Gallo-Græci verè, quantum terræ proprietates cœ- quod appellantur: sicut in frugibus, non tantum semina ad* *Liv.*

Two of the three bodies of the Gauls retired to the top of mount Olympus. They are attacked there by the Romans and defeated.

Liv. xxxviii. 19—23.

were

A. R. 563. were so rash to undertake it, an handful of men
 Ant. C. 189. would suffice to check and defeat them; and lastly, that they would not expose themselves to perishing by cold and misery at the foot of these mountains, in tenaciously resolving to remain there. Though they thought themselves already sufficiently defended by the height of the rocks and mountains, for their greater security they cut a fosse round the eminences on which they were intrenched, which they strengthened with a good palisade.

The Consul, who had rightly expected that he should have the difficulty of the ways to contend with at a distance more than the arms of the enemy, had made an ample provision of javelins, darts, leaden balls, and stones of a bigness to be discharged with slings; and in this condition he incamped five miles from mount Olympus. He soon arrived at the enemy's posts, though not without having sustained abundance of danger and fatigue. Both sides engaged at first at distance, the Gauls having the advantage of their ground, but the Romans that of the abundance and variety of their missive arms. The fight was not long equal. For the shields of the Gauls, which were long without much breadth, covered only a part of their vast bodies; and they had no other arms but their swords, of which they could make no use, as long as they fought at a distance. They had not taken care to provide themselves with quantities of stones, which were alone capable of being useful to them in this kind of combat; and those they had were soon exhausted. The Romans, on the contrary, galled them from all sides with arrows, javelins, and balls of lead, which they could not avoid. When the Gauls were wounded, by endeavouring to pull out the darts, which they could not effect, they
 only

only increased their pain, and rolled upon the earth like men mad and desperate. Those who persisted in charging the enemy were only the more dangerously exposed; and as soon as they were within reach, the *Velites*, that is the light-armed troops, killed them sword in hand. This kind of soldiers had shields three feet in length on their left arms, and in their right hand half pikes (*hasta*) which they used at a distance: and if it were necessary to come to close fight, they put their spears in their left hands, and with their right used their Spanish swords, which hung at their belts. The few of the Gauls, who maintained their ground, seeing they could not withstand the light-armed troops, and were upon the point of having the legions upon their hands, fled in disorder into their camp.

The front of the legions being arrived upon the eminences, the Consul ordered the soldiers to halt in order to take breath, and shewing them the hill strewed with the dead bodies of the Gauls: *If troops armed only with darts and slings, said he to them, have made such a slaughter, what may we not expect from the legions armed at all points? The light-armed soldiers have driven the Gauls into their camp; it is your business to force them thence, and to defeat them entirely.* The Gauls did not long sustain the charge of so formidable an infantry. Seeing that those who defended the gates of their camp were all cut to pieces, they did not stay till the victors entered it, but fled on all sides. They threw themselves headlong across the most impracticable rocks. Most of them fell down the precipices, and either died immediately, or remained there with broken limbs. Nothing stopped them; the dread of the enemy engrossing their whole attention. The Consul pursued those who fled in all the practicable places, and made a

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.

great slaughter of them. The exact number of the slain was not known : that of the prisoners amounted to forty thousand, including women and children, and the other unserviceable people, that had followed the Gauls.

The Consul, at his return, caused the arms of the Gauls to be laid in an heap, and burnt ; and having ordered those, who had taken spoils contrary to his prohibition, to bring them in, he sold part of them for the use of the public, and divided the rest amongst the soldiers, taking great care, that it should be done in equal proportions. Then, having assembled the army, he publicly gave each of them the praises and rewards they had deserved. He particularly praised Attalus, for which he was generally applauded by the officers and soldiers, faithful witnesses and judges of the merit of Generals. And indeed that young Prince, after having acted with extraordinary activity and valour in fatigues and dangers, had shewn still more estimable reserve and modesty after the victory.

The Consul approaches Ancyra, to attack the third body of the Gauls,
Liv.

There remained a second war with the Teuto-sages, who had not shared in the defeat of their countrymen. The Consul, after having given his troops some rest, set out in quest of them, and the third day arrived at Ancyra, a famous city of the country, from which the enemy were but ten miles distant.

xxxviii. 24
Extract of a letter of a Gaulish lady.
Liv. *ibid.*

During his stay there, one of his female prisoners did a very memorable action. She was called Chiomara, and was the wife of Ortiagon, one of the Gaulish Chiefs, or Princes, and was equally admirable for her beauty and chastity. She had been kept, amongst others taken at the defeat on mount Olympus, by a Centurion, no less passionate for money than women. He at first endeavoured to engage her consent to his infamous desires ;

fires ; but not being able to prevail upon her and subvert her constancy, he thought he might employ force with a woman, whom misfortune had reduced into slavery. Afterwards, to make her amends for that treatment, he offered to restore her liberty, but not without ransom. He agreed with her for a certain sum ; and to conceal this design from the other Romans, he permitted her to send any of the prisoners she should chuse to her relations, and assigned a place near the river where the lady should be exchanged for gold. By accident there was one of her own slaves amongst the prisoners. Upon him she fixed ; and the Centurion soon after carried her beyond the advanced posts with the favour of darkness. The next night two of the relations or friends of the Princess came to the rendezvous, whither the Centurion also carried his captive. When they had delivered him the Attic talent they had brought, which was the sum agreed on, the lady in her own language bad those who came to receive her, draw their swords, and kill the Centurion, who was amusing himself with weighing the gold. Then, charmed with having revenged the injury done her chastity by her courage, she took the head of that officer, which she had cut off with her own hands, and hiding it under her robe, went to her husband Ortiagon, who had returned home after the defeat of his troops at mount Olympus. Before she embraced him, she threw the Centurion's head at his feet. He was strangely surprized at such a sight, and asked her, whose head it was, and what had induced her to do an act so uncommon to her sex. With her face covered with a sudden blush, and at the same time expressing her fierce indignation, she declared the outrage, which had been done her, and the revenge she had taken for it. During the rest of her life, she

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.

steadfastly retained the same attachment for the purity of manners, which constitutes the principal glory of the sex, and wonderfully sustained the honour of so bold and generous an action. Plutarch relates the same fact in his treatise upon the virtue and great actions of women, and it is from him we have the name of this, which is well worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

Second victory over the Gauls.
Liv
xxxviii.
25—27.

The Tectosages having received advice of the Consul's arrival, sent deputies to him, to demand an interview, and to treat of peace: but their true design was to surprize him in ambuscades, which they had laid for him, and in which he really was in great danger. The army of the Gauls consisted of seventy-four thousand men. That of the Romans, which was much inferior in number, was infinitely superior in bravery, to which the perfidy of the enemy had added new spirit and ardor. In consequence, already conquered and dejected by the defeat of their countrymen, they did not sustain the first charge of the Romans, and fled. The victors pursued them with vigour, without being able however to kill above eight thousand of them; all the rest having passed the river Halys before they could come up with them. Most of the victors stayed that night in the camp of the Gauls. The Consul led back the rest into his own. The next day he viewed the prisoners and the spoils, which were immense, having been accumulated by the most rapacious of all nations, which during many years had subdued by their arms, and pillaged, the rich countries on this side of mount Taurus.

The Gauls having reassembled from all the places, to which they had dispersed in flight, most of them wounded, and without arms and equipages, sent Ambassadors to the Consul to ask
peace

peace of him. Manlius ordered them to come to him to Ephesus. For as it was now the middle of autumn, he removed as soon as possible from these parts, where the neighbourhood of mount Taurus began to make the rigour of the cold season very sensible, and led back his army to winter along the maritime coasts.

Whilst these things passed in Asia, every thing was quiet in the other provinces. At Rome the Censors T. Quintius Flaminius and M. Claudius Marcellus reviewed the Senators, and filled up the vacancies in it. Scipio for the third time had the name and quality of *Prince of the Senate* conferred on him. They excluded only four from it, none of which had exercised a Curule office. They acted with the same indulgence in the review of the Knights. On the muster which they made, the number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred men.

All the cities of the island of Cephallenia had submitted to the Consul Fulvius. Only one refused to do so: this was Samos. He was obliged to form the siege of it. It made a vigorous defence, frequently sallying upon the besiegers, and almost always with advantage, killed them abundance of men, and set fire to all their works. The Consul could not effectually check their boldness without the assistance of an hundred slingers, which he sent for from the cities of the Achæans. They had been practised in this exercise from their infancy, being accustomed to discharge from a distance into a circle of a moderate bigness. They made themselves so expert in it, that they were sure of hitting the enemy not only on the head, but in what part of the face they pleased. They made use of slings, different from those of the Balearians, and surpassed them

A. R. 563.
Ant. C. 189.
Manlius
returns to
Ephesus.
Ibid. 27.

Censorship
exercised
with great
lenity.

The Consul
Fulvius
takes Sa-
mos by
storm, and
reduces the
whole
island of
Cephallenia
Liv.

xxxviii.
28, 29.

Achæans
expert
slingers.

merit of Generals. And indeed that young Prince, after having acted with extraordinary activity and valour in fatigues and dangers, had shewn still more estimable reserve and modesty after the victory.

The Consul approaches Ancyra, to attack the third body of the Gauls,
Liv. There remained a second war with the Teuto-
sages, who had not shared in the defeat of their
countrymen. The Consul, after having given his
troops some rest, set out in quest of them, and the
third day arrived at Ancyra, a famous city of the
country, from which the enemy were but ten miles
distant.

xxxviii. 24
Extraordinary action of a Gaulish lady.
Liv. *ibid.* During his stay there, one of his female pri-
soners did a very memorable action. She was
called Chiomara, and was the wife of Ortiagon,
one of the Gaulish Chiefs, or Princes, and was
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on mount Olympus, by a Centurion, no less pas-
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A. R. 563. much in dexterity. They did great execution a-
 Ant. C. 189. gainst the Samians, who sustained the siege during
 four months entire. They were at length reduced
 to surrender at discretion. The city was plunde-
 red, and the inhabitants sold for slaves.

A great quarrel arose at this time between the
 Achæans and Lacedæmonians, which had mourn-
 ful effects to the latter. Both sides sent deputies to
 Rome. This affair, which properly relates to the
 Greeks, is treated at large in the VIIIth volume of
 the Antient History.

A. R. 564.
 Ant. C. 188.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
 C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

New Con- The new Consuls having drawn lots for their
 Liv. provinces, Liguria fell to Messala, and Gaul to
 2 & iii. Salinator. The two Consuls of the preceding year
 55, 56. were continued in command in Ætolia and Asia,
 in quality of Proconsuls.

Eclipse of Public prayers were decreed during three days
 the sun. on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, which
 was taken for a prodigy : so little was astronomy
 then known at Rome.

Embassies
 of the
 States of
 Asia to
 Manlius.
 Liv.
 xxxviii.
 57.

During the winter in which these things passed
 at Rome the Ambassadors of all the States, that
 inhabit on this side of mount Taurus, repaired to
 Manlius to congratulate him, and express their
 own joy for the victory he had lately gained. Ac-
 cordingly, if the defeat of Antiochus was more
 splendid and glorious for the Romans than that of
 the Gauls ; on another side, the latter had given
 their allies more joy than the former. For the
 absolute authority of the Kings, that kept them in
 a kind of slavery, seemed more supportable to
 them, than the ferocity of those Barbarians, who,
 always ready to fall like an impetuous tempest
 sometimes on one country, and sometimes on ano-
 ther,

ther, kept them in perpetual anxiety and alarm. Thus, as the defeat of Antiochus, had procured them liberty, that of the Gauls had restored their peace. Those States therefore did not come merely to congratulate the Romans upon these glorious advantages, but they also brought them crowns of gold; each according to their power, out of gratitude.

That General also received Ambassadors from Antiochus and the Gauls themselves, who sent to ask the conditions upon which the Roman People would grant them peace. Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, also sent his, to make excuses to him and offer satisfaction in money, for the fault he had committed against the Romans by aiding Antiochus against them. That Prince had a tribute of two hundred talents of silver laid upon him, (two hundred thousands crowns.) As to the Gauls, Manlius answered them, that they would know their fate, when King Eumenes should be returned to Asia. He gave very obliging answers to the Ambassadors of the allied States, and sent them back with still greater joy than they came. He ordered those of Antiochus to cause money and corn to be carried into Pamphylia, whither he was to repair with his army conformably to the treaty made between L. Scipio and their master. And accordingly, in the beginning of the spring, having reviewed his troops, he arrived in eight days at Apamæa, where he resided three days: from thence in three more he entered Pamphylia. There he distributed the corn to his army which he had ordered to be sent thither, and caused the two thousand five hundred talents, which he had received, (about three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds) to be carried to Apamæa.

A. R. 564. When Manlius had received advice, that Eu-
 Ant.C. 188. menes and the ten commissioners were arrived
 Conditions of the from Rome at Ephesus, he led back his army to
 treaty con- Apamæa; where he ordered Antiochus's Amba-
 cluded be- sadors to come to him. It was here, that with
 tween the the advice of the ten commissioners of the Senate,
 Roman People and he put the last hand to the treaty begun with An-
 Antiochus. tiochus and concluded it on the following condi-
 Liv. tions. *The King shall not give passage through his*
 xxxviii. *territories nor those of his vassals to any nation at war*
 58. *with the Roman People, or with their Allies, and*
 Polyb. *shall not aid their enemies either with provisions or*
 Excerpt. *money, or any other support whatsoever. The Ro-*
 Legat. *mans and their Allies shall act in the same manner*
 xxv. *with regard to Antiochus. The King shall not make*
war upon the inhabitants of the islands, and shall not
go to Europe. He shall evacuate all the cities, coun-
tries, towns, and forts, on this side of mount Taurus,
as far as the eminences aspecting Lycaonia. Nothing
shall be taken away from the cities, towns, and
countries, ceded to the Romans, except the arms
worn by the soldiers on marching off; and if any
thing else be taken away, the whole to be made good.
The King shall not receive into the countries dependant
upon him either the soldiers or subjects of King Eu-
menes. If any citizens of the cities and countries be
abandoned, are either at his court, or in any other
part of his kingdom, they shall take care to return to
Apamæa before a certain day fixed. Such of the sub-
jects of Antiochus, as are amongst the Romans or
their Allies, shall be at liberty to remain with them,
or to return into their own country, at their choice.
The King shall surrender to the Romans and their
Allies the slaves, prisoners, and deserters, that belong
to them. That he shall deliver up Hannibal, the son
of Amilcar, Mnasilochus, of Acarnania, Thoas of
Ætolia ——— if in his dominions and within his
power. He shall deliver up all his elephants, and
shall

shall not supply their places with others. He shall deliver up all his ships of war, with all their rigging, and shall retain only ten small vessels without decks, of which none shall have above thirty oars. The King shall not navigate beyond the promontories of Calycadnus or Sarpedon, if not to carry the money, tribute, or hostages farther, or the Ambassadors he shall have sent abroad. He shall raise no soldiers amongst the nations subject to the Roman People, and shall not receive those, who shall present themselves voluntarily to serve in his armies. The Rhodians and their Allies shall retain the houses and other edifices, which they have in the dominions of Antiochus upon the same foot as they possessed them before the war. They shall have liberty to sue for the payment of the sums which shall be due to them, as also to find out and claim the effects of which they shall have been deprived, and demand restitution thereof. If any of the cities Antiochus is to surrender, be in the hands of those to whom he may have given them, he shall take care to make the garrisons quit them, and to restore such places to those to whom they ought to belong. He shall pay the Roman People in twelve years and in twelve equal payments, twelve * thousand Attic talents of silver of gold alloy (about one million eight hundred thousand pounds) of which each shall weigh fourscore pounds Roman weight, and five hundred and forty thousand bushels of wheat: and to King Eumenes, in the space of five years, three hundred and fifty talents (about fifty two thousand five hundred pounds) and an hundred and twenty seven more (about nineteen thousand and fifty pounds) for the corn which he owes him, according to the estimate of Antiochus himself. He shall give the Romans twenty hostages, that shall be changed every three

* In the treaty with L. Scipio Euboic talents were expressed, the value of which were something less than these.

years,

A. R. 564. years, and which shall not be under eighteen, nor
 A. R. 188. above forty five years of age. If any allies of the Roman People declare war first against Antiochus, he shall be at liberty to defend himself, and to repel force with force ; on condition however that he shall not augment his dominions with any city, either by right of conquest or alliance. If any differences arise between the Allies of the Romans and Antiochus they shall determine them amicably, or, if they choose, by arms. If it shall be found necessary to retrench from or add any thing to the conditions of this treaty, both sides shall be at liberty to do so, provided it be with their mutual consent.

The Consul ratified this treaty by oath in the name of the Romans ; and sent Q. Minucius Thermus, and Manlius to Antiochus, to make him also ratify it. At the same time Fabius, who commanded the fleet, set out by the Consul's order, and having entered the port of Patara, he there either destroyed or burnt fifty ships of war, which belonged to the King.

*Reflection
 upon An-
 tiochus.*

So haughty a Prince as Antiochus, who had hitherto seen all his enterprizes attended with success, and whom his conquests had acquired the surname of THE GREAT, must have been highly mortified, when he saw his pretended greatness humbled, annihilated, and covered with disgrace by such a treaty as that of which we have just repeated the conditions. Can we believe, that such an event could be the effect of chance ? Fifteen or twenty years before, that Prince, after the death of Ptolomy Philopater his friend and ally, had made a league with Philip King of Macedonia to deprive that King of Egypt's son of all his dominions, who was then an infant scarce five years old. One would be tempted, says Polybius, on seeing so open a violation of the most sacred laws of society, followed, at least in respect to Antiochus,

chus, with a long and glorious prosperity, to accuse providence, as indifferent and insensible to the most crying and most horrid of crimes. But providence fully justified itself in punishing both those Kings as they deserved, and made them an example, which might serve to keep all such as should incline to imitate them in succeeding times within the bounds of their duty. For, whilst they had no thoughts but of parcelling out between them the kingdom of an helpless infant, they drew the Romans upon them, who entirely ruined the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and made their children and successors experience as great evils, as those, with which they had vilely designed to crush the young monarch of Egypt.

We have this observation from a Pagan. But providence was not contented in respect to Antiochus with the chastisement mentioned by Polybius. It thought fit to punish him in his own person. That Prince, after his defeat returned to Antioch, the capitol and fortress of his kingdom. Soon after, finding it difficult to raise the money he was to pay the Romans, he went to the East into the province of Elymais, entered the temple of Jupiter Belus in the night, and took away all the riches which had been religiously kept there during a great length of time. The People, enraged by this sacrilege, rose against him, and destroyed him with all his attendants. The Prophet Daniel, who circumstantially foretold all the enterprizes of Antiochus in a surprizing manner, as may be seen in the VIIIth volume of the Antient History, remarks also his death. *Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.* This happened the same year that his treaty with the Romans was entirely concluded.

A. R. 564.
Ant. C. 188.

Miserable death of Antiochus.
Diog. in Excerpt.
p. 298.
Hieron. in Dan. c. xi.

Dan. xi. 9.

A. R. 564.
Ant. C. 188.
*Decrees
and regu-
lations in
respect to
the Kings
and cities
of Asia.*
Liv.
xxxviii.
39.

The Proconsul Manlius having received the elephants, which Antiochus was to deliver up, and having made a present of them to Eumenes, applied himself to enquiring into the condition of the cities, wherein the late troubles had occasioned great changes. King Ariarathes was exempted from paying part of the sum laid on him, and received into the amity of the Roman People, in consequence of the marriage Eumenes had lately contracted with his daughter. As to the cities, when each had been heard, the ten Roman commissioners treated them differently. Those which had paid tribute to Antiochus, and had declared for the Romans, were made free, and exempted from all tribute. Those which had adhered to Antiochus, or had paid tribute to King Attalus, were subjected to Eumenes. Several cities were particularly rewarded. The donation which had been made to the Rhodians by the first decree of Lycia and Caria as far as the river Meander, was confirmed. To the kingdom of Eumenes they added the Chersonesus in Europe, and Lyfimachia with all its dependances, as they had been possessed by Antiochus: and in Asia the two Phrygias, the one near the Hellespont, and the other called Phrygia Major. They restored Mysia to him, which King Prusias had taken from him: And lastly, they added to the gift Lycaonia, Mylias, and Lydia; and expressly the cities of Trallæ, Ephesus, and Telmissa. Pamphylia, which lay on both sides of mount Taurus, had occasioned a dispute between Eumenes and the Ambassadors of Antiochus, the decision of which was entirely referred to the Senate.

*Manlius
returns to
Europe
and
marches
into Greece.*
Liv.
xxxviii.
40, 41.

Manlius after having concluded the treaties, and made the decrees of which we have been speaking, set out with his army for the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, whither he summoned the Princes

Princes of the Gallo-Grecians, and told them the conditions of peace they were to observe with Eumenes. He declared to them in express terms, that they must keep within their own country, without making incursions into the territories of their neighbours. Afterwards having drawn together all the ships of the coast, he joined the fleet, which Athenæus the brother of Eumenes had brought to him from Elæa, and repassed into Europe with all his troops. Then leading his army laden with immense spoils of all kinds, by short marches through the Chersonesus, he halted some time at Lyfimachia to give the carriage beasts rest, and afterwards to enter Thrace, of which the route was very difficult, and much dreaded by the soldiers. This was not without reason. During this whole march, which was very long, they suffered much from the Thracians, who incessantly attacked them in the defiles, and dangerous passes, and even took from them part of their booty. They had two battles particularly, both to the disadvantage of the Romans, in one of which Q. Minucius Thermus, a person of consular dignity, and one of the ten commissioners sent to Asia by the Senate, was killed. King Philip was suspected of having secretly influenced the Thracians to attack the Romans. At length the Consul, after having surmounted an infinity of obstacles, quitted Thrace, and led his army through Macedonia into Thessally. From thence marching through Epirus to Apollonia, he passed the winter there, the sea not seeming safe enough for embarking in that season.

SECT. II.

Two Romans delivered up to the Carthaginians. Liguria given to the two Consuls for their province. Fulvius accused by the Ambracians at the solicitation of the Consul Æmilius. Decree of the Senate in favour of the Ambracians. Departure of the Consuls. Manlius demands a triumph, which is disputed with him by the commissioners of the Senate. Speech of the commissioners against Manlius. Triumph decreed to Manlius. Scipio Africanus is summoned before the People. Grievances of the Tribunes against Scipio Africanus. Scipio, instead of answering them carries the whole assembly with him to the capitol, to thank the gods for his victories. He retires to Linternum. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's enemy, declares for him against his colleagues. Reflections of Livy upon P. Scipio. Different accounts of historians concerning Scipio. Scipio's daughter married to Gracchus. Law proposed concerning the sums of money received from Antiochus. L. Scipio sentenced for embezzeling the public money. He is ordered to prison. Speech of Scipio Nasica in his favour. Gracchus prevents L. Scipio from being imprisoned. The sale and small value of Scipio's estate justify him.

A. R. 565.

Ant. C. 187.

*Two Ro-**mans de-**livered up**to the Car-**thaginians*

Liv.

xxxviii.

42.

*Liguria**given to**the two**Consuls as**their pro-**vince.*

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

C. FLAMINIUS.

TOwards the end of the preceding year L. Minucius Myrtilus and L. Manlius, accused of having insulted the Carthaginian Ambassadors, were delivered up to them by the order of M. Claudius Prætor of the city, and carried to Carthage.

Upon the report which spread that great preparations of war were making in Liguria, the Senate allotted that province to both Consuls. Lepidus, dissatisfied with this destination, complained

plained highly “ that the two Consuls should be
 “ confined in the vallies of Liguria, whilst dur-
 “ ing two years M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius
 “ reigned, the one in Europe and the other in
 “ Asia, in the room of Philip and Antiochus,
 “ spreading the terror of the Roman arms on all
 “ sides, and selling peace to the nations, on
 “ whom war had not been declared, for gold.”

A. R. 565.
 Ant. C. 187.

The Senate made no change in the decree : they only ordered Manlius and Fulvius to quit their provinces, and march back their legions to Rome.

M. Fulvius and M. Æmilius had long been
 enemies. The Consul made the deputies of Am-
 bracia accuse Fulvius, and after having given
 them their lesson, he introduced them into the
 Senate. They accused Fulvius “ of having de-
 “ clared war upon them at a time when they were
 “ at peace, though they had punctually executed
 “ all that the preceeding Consuls had directed, and
 “ had offered himself the like submission and
 “ obedience. That he had besieged them, and
 “ after the city had surrendered, had made them
 “ suffer all the most cruel outrages and evils it is
 “ possible to imagine in war. That not con-
 “ tented with having plundered, burnt, and de-
 “ molished the houses, confiscated the estates of
 “ the citizens, and deluged the city with their
 “ blood, he had made the women and children
 “ slaves ; and, what was still more grievous than
 “ all the rest, had taken away all the ornaments
 “ of their temples ; sparing neither the statues of
 “ the gods, nor the gods themselves : so that the
 “ wretched Ambracians no longer knew where
 “ to address their prayers or pay their homage,
 “ unless it were to the walls whom he had left
 “ naked and disfigured.” The Consul, after having
 heard these invectives, asked the deputies many
 questions, the answers to which he had concerted with
 them,

Fulvius
accused by
the Am-
bracians
at the sol-
licitation
of the Con-
sul Æmi-
lius.
 Liv.
 xxxviii.
 43.

A. R. 565. them, and thereby gave them occasion to say
 Ant. C. 187. much more, as if it had been involuntarily.

The Senators seeming to be moved with these complaints, the Consul C. Flaminius thought himself obliged to take upon him the defence of Fulvius in his absence. “He reproached the Senate, that they suffered the Roman Generals to be exposed as formerly to frivolous and groundless accusations. He said, that he was much surprised, that actions should be made crimes to Fulvius, which ought to obtain the honour of a triumph. That Ambracia had undergone the calamities common to cities taken by force. That the Ambracians attempted in vain to separate their cause from that of the Ætolians: that there was no difference between them and the other. After many other reasons which he urged, he declared that he would suffer nothing to be determined either in the affair of the Ambracians or that of the Ætolians in the absence of Fulvius.”

*Decree of
 the Senate
 in favour
 of the Am-
 bracians.
 Ibid. 44.*

The opposition of Flaminius suspended every thing: but, unfortunately for the cause of Fulvius, he fell sick. Æmilius took advantage of this accident, and brought the affair again upon the carpet. “The Senate passed a decree by which the effects, the Ambracians complained they had been deprived of, were restored, with their liberty and laws, and permission was granted them to establish customs and duties wherever they thought fit both by sea and land: on condition however that the Romans and their Allies of the Latin name should be exempted from them. As to the statues of their gods and the other ornaments, which they complained of having been taken out of their temples, they thought fit to wait the return of Fulvius for treating that affair, and left the decision of it to
 “ the

“ the college of the *Pontifices*.” Æmilius was not contented with a sentence so much in favour of his enemy : but one day, when few Senators were present in their house, he caused these words to be added to the decree, *That Ambracia had not been taken by the force of arms*. Surprizes of this kind do not argue fair dealing, and are unworthy the gravity of a Roman Consul.

The *Feriæ Latinæ* were then celebrated, and the Consuls having discharged all the duties of religion, set out for their provinces.

Immediately after the Proconsul Cn. Manlius arrived at Rome, and the Prætor Ser. Sulpicius assembled the Senate in the temple of Bellona to give him audience. There, after having related all he had done in Asia for the advantage and glory of the Roman People, he demanded, first that due thanksgivings should be made to the immortal gods, and secondly that he should be granted the honour of a triumph. But most of the ten commissioners of the Senate, who had been with him in those remote provinces opposed it, and none so much as L. Furius Purpureo and L. Æmilius † Paulus.

They said, “ that they had been sent into Asia to conclude and terminate in concert with Manlius the treaty of peace, which L. Scipio had began between the Roman People and Antiochus ; but that Manlius had spared no pains to prevent the conclusion of the peace, and had even intended to carry his arms beyond mount Taurus : a design, from which the ten commissioners had found it very hard to dissuade him, by representing to him the calamities, with which the Sibyl menaced the Romans,

† This is not the famous Paulus Æmilius who conquered Perseus.

A. R. 56: "if they ever presumed to pass those fatal
Æ. C. 187. " bounds.

" That finding unfurmountable obstacles to
" that enterprize, he had turned his views and
" course a different way, and had declared war
" against the Gallo-Græcians, without being autho-
" rized either by the Senate or People, and without
" being able to produce the example of a single
" General, who had ventured to form the like
" projects of his own head. That the custom of
" the Roman People, before they proceeded to
" hostilities, was to send Ambassadors to demand
" reparation from those, of whom they had cause
" to complain. That he had observed none of
" the usual formalities, that could justify him in
" saying, that he had made war in the name of the
" Roman People, and not acted as a private spoiler.

" But, as he was determined upon this enter-
" prize, why did not he march directly against the
" pretended enemies? Why did he march and coun-
" termarch to search all the corners of Pisidia,
" Lycaonia, and Phrygia, in order rapaciously to
" extort sums out of the sovereigns, or petty
" tyrants of the fortresses situated in those coun-
" tries? What quarrel had he with these States,
" who never did the Romans any hurt, and from
" whom they had no subject to complain?

" They added, that in respect of the enemy,
" for the defeat of whom Manlius pretended to a
" triumph, the advantages he had gained were
" undoubtedly not much for his honour. That
" besides that these Gauls, enervated by the vo-
" luptuousness of Asia, were not the same in point
" of courage, as those against whom the Romans
" had so often fought in Italy, the recent fall of
" Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, had so
" much discouraged them, that the Romans had
" occasion only for the arrows and slings of their
" light-

“ light-armed troops to overthrow those huge
 “ combatants, and that in the whole war, they
 “ had not once stained their swords with the blood
 “ of the enemy.

“ That for the rest, Manlius had good reason
 “ to demand, that public thanksgivings should be
 “ made to the immortal gods. That indeed,
 “ without the peculiar protection of the gods, the
 “ Roman army having incamped in a deep valley
 “ with the enemy over their heads, the Gauls, with-
 “ out using their arms, might have overwhelmed
 “ and defeated them entirely, by rolling down great
 “ stones upon them, with which the mountain sup-
 “ plied them in abundance. That afterwards, as if
 “ the gods had thought fit to give the Romans a
 “ sense of what might have happened to them in
 “ Gallo-Græcia, if they had to do with enemies,
 “ who deserved that name, their troops had been
 “ defeated, put to flight, and stript of their bag-
 “ gage by some flying parties of Thrace, who
 “ waited for them on their route. That these
 “ were the great exploits, for which Manlius de-
 “ manded a triumph.

The commissioners concluded where they be-
 gan, “ by insisting strongly upon the precautions
 “ taken in all times for declaring war; and asking
 “ the Senate, whether they thought fit to violate
 “ such wise regulations, to abolish forms that were
 “ a part of religion, to deprive the Senate and
 “ People of the privilege they had always pos-
 “ sessed of decreeing war and peace, and to give
 “ up to the caprice and ambition of Generals the
 “ power of attacking such States as they should
 “ think fit.”

When they had done speaking, Manlius re-
 plied to the following effect. *Hitherto, Romans,*
we have sometimes seen the tribunes of the People oppose
triumphs when demanded by your Generals. This

A. R. 565.
 Ant. C. 187.

Manlius's
 answer.
 Ibid.
 47—49.

A. R. 565.
Æt. C. 187.

obliges me to return the present Tribunes my thanks, that either out of consideration for my person or my actions, they have not only tacitely consented to my triumph, but have also seemed in a disposition to propose it themselves, if it had been necessary. I have the grief to find my adversaries amongst those commissioners, which our ancestors gave their Generals to honour their victory, and regulate the consequences of it with wisdom and justice.

Their accusation has two heads, as this assembly may have observed. They pretend, that I had no right to make war against the Gauls, and that I made it with temerity and imprudence.

THE GAULS, say they, committed no act of hostility against us: you found them in peace and tranquillity, and however attacked them. Would to the gods King Eumenes, with the magistrates of all the cities of Asia, were present! You would hear their complaints, and I should not find it necessary to accuse the Gallo-Græcians. Let Ambassadors be sent to all parts of Asia, to enquire the truth upon the spot; and you would know from them, that the slavery, from which you have delivered that country by obliging Antiochus to retire beyond mount Taurus, was not harder than that, from which it has been delivered by the reduction of the Gauls. All those States will inform you, how many times that savage nation has ravaged their countries, how many times they have carried off all that they had of valuable and necessary, how many prisoners they have taken from them, without suffering them to ransom them, and lastly how often they have sacrificed their children to their gods as barbarous as themselves. How! If Antiochus had not withdrawn his garrisons from the citadels, where they remained in entire tranquillity, would you believe, that you had restored Asia to liberty, and do you imagine that Eumenes could peaceably enjoy the gifts you have made him, and the other cities

cities the liberty they have received from you, whilst the Gauls were at entire liberty to carry terror and desolation wherever they thought fit?

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.

But wherefore should I reason any longer upon a false supposition, as if I had not found the Gauls actually at war with us, and as if I had forced them to make it against us. I call you to witness, L. Scipio, you whom I succeeded in the command of the troops, and you P. Scipio, who was considered by the army and your brother rather as a colleague than a lieutenant: say, don't you know, that the Gaulish forces served in the army of Antiochus; and if you did not see them fighting upon both wings, in which they constituted the strength of his army? The Romans ordered you to make war not only upon Antiochus, but upon all those, who should have joined him against us. The Gauls were indisputably of that number, as well as some of the petty Kings and tyrants of that country. I was therefore in the right to treat them as enemies. However I acted with all possible moderation in respect to them. I gave peace to the latter, reducing them to make a satisfaction suitable to your power which they had injured. On the other side, I used my utmost endeavours to bring the Gauls to reason, if their natural ferocity had been capable of being mollified; and it was not till after many attempts, that finding them always untractable, I thought it for our honour to use force to reduce them.

After having justified the motives, which determined me to undertake the war, it is now necessary to speak of the manner in which I made it. And in this second point, I should be assured of gaining my cause, though I were even to plead it before the Senate of Carthage, which, if what is said be true, punish their Generals capitally when they have formed rash enterprizes, however successful in the event. But what confidence ought I not to conceive, who

A. R. 565.
A.D.C. 187.

have to do with a Commonwealth, that never made enterprizes criminal to commanders, to which the gods have given an happy issue, because it regards that as the effect of the prayers and vows which have preceded those enterprizes; and in decreeing either thanksgivings to the gods, or triumphs to Generals, always uses these remarkable terms, (a) FOR HAVING WELL AND SUCCESSFULLY SERVED THE COMMONWEALTH. When therefore to avoid provoking envy, I decline ascribing to my courage and good conduct the successes I have had, and I contented myself, after having conquered so powerful a nation without any loss, with asking that the due thanksgivings should be paid to the immortal gods for the good fortune they have vouchsafed your arms under my command, and that myself might be permitted to reenter the capital in triumph, from which I set out after having made the customary vows for the prosperity of the Commonwealth, would you refuse such honour to the gods, as well as to me?

It is objected to me, that I did not make choice of an advantageous place for giving battle. Did that depend on me? The enemy being masters of the mountain, and resolving not to come down from it, it was absolutely necessary for me to attack them in their post, if I intended to defeat them. The same reproach may be made to our best Generals, who, especially in the last wars, have not always chosen advantageous posts for attacking the Enemy, because it was not in their power: I do not yet comprehend what idea they would give you, or frame to themselves, of the enemy. If they have degenerated so much as they say, and are so much enervated by the voluptuousness of Asia, what danger was there in marching to attack them upon the mountain? And if they retained the courage and strength of their ancestors, why do they refuse those

(a) Quod bene ac feliciter Rempublicam administravit.

a triumph, who have conquered so formidable an enemy? (a) Envy is blind, Romans. Its purpose is to degrade virtue, and to make it lose the honours and rewards it deserves.

A. R. 565;
Ant. C. 187.

The same spirit of envy and jealousy shews itself again in what they object to me concerning Thrace. They insist much upon part of our baggage being taken by those robbers, and the loss of some soldiers, and they take great care at the same time not to add, that upon the very day this misfortune happened our troops defeated a great number of these banditti, and that the following days they either took or killed many more of them. But what do they get by this affected silence? The whole army is ready to witness the two battles, which alone deserve the honour of a triumph.

I ask your pardon, Romans; if the necessity of a just defence, and not the desire of boasting my own actions, has made me expatiate too much.

The accusation would upon this occasion have had the advantage of the apology, if the dispute had not taken up the whole day without being decided. For the Senators withdrew in a disposition to refuse Manlius a triumph. But the next day that General's relations and friends stirred so much, that they engaged the Seniors of the order in their interest, whose authority made the affair turn in favour of Manlius. They represented, that it was without example, that a General, after having conquered the enemy, left his province in peace, and led back his victorious troops to Rome, had been deprived of the honour of a triumph, and had re-entered the city as a private person without any distinction. The malignant jealousy of his enemies at length gave way to such

Triumph
d. creed
Manlius.
Ibid. 50.

(a) Cæca invidia est, Patres Conscripti, nec quidquam aliud scit, quam detrectare virtutes, corrumpere honores ac præmia earum. Liv.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.

wife remonstrances: they were ashamed of affronting a man of merit in so injurious a manner, and the whole Senate almost unanimously decreed him a triumph. There was however foundation to object to the conduct of this General, who, as we shall see below, had not strictly kept up the discipline, and suffered the manners of his troops to corrupt. It is surprizing, that his enemies did not urge this point against him.

Scipio
Africanus
is cited
before the
People.
Liv.
xxxv.ii.
50.

A much more affecting accusation of an highly more illustrious and considerable personage, made the dispute of which I have been speaking be forgot. Two Tribunes of the People, both called Q. Pætilius, cited P. Scipio Africanus to take a trial.

Liv.
xxxviii.
56.
Val Max.
iv. 1.

This event must seem strange when considered with the sentiments of gratitude, respect, and admiration, which all the Romans had formerly entertained with so much justice and unanimity in favour of Scipio. They were desirous to erect statues of him in the Forum, the tribunal for harangues, the Senate, and even in the temple and chapel of great Jupiter; and their zeal for his glory had rose so high, that they had in some sense equalled him with the gods, by decreeing, that his statue habited in the ornaments of triumph, should be laid upon cushions like those of the gods in the ceremony called *Leñisternium*. They had even conceived thoughts of creating him perpetual Consul and Dictator. But (a) Scipio, less passionate to receive honours than to deserve them, would not suffer any to be decreed him, that were above the

(a) Quorum sibi nullum quantum gesserat in emerendis,
neque plebiscito dari, neque Val. Max. Hæc — ingentem
Senatus-consulto decerni pa- magnitudinem animi, mode-
riando, pene tantum in recu- randis ad civilem habitum ho-
sands honoribus se gessit, noribus [significabant.] Liv.

condition

condition of a citizen, and by that moderation, which prevented him from giving himself up to such excesses, he shewed as much wisdom as greatness of soul.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.

Accordingly, this first passion insensibly becoming less ardent as is usual, some years after Scipio's credit began to decline. The People always having him before their eyes, began by little and little to abate in their admiration of him. The consent and approbation which he had given during his consulship to the separate places of the Senators in the Games, was ill received by the public; and he experienced this decline of his authority, when it miscarried in opposition to Quintius in respect to the Consulship, which he canvassed in favour of his cousin Nasica.

It was in this manner, that the event which we are going to relate, was made way for. Those who envied him, seeing his credit weakened, believed it in their power to attack him. Their accusation turned upon a pretended crime of embezzling the public money in the war with Antiochus. They affirmed, that he had received great sums of money from that Prince to grant him peace.

Every body judged of this proceeding according to their character or inclination. Some declared themselves not only against the impudence of the accusers, but against the baseness of the Romans in general, who did not oppose so unworthy an enterprize. *The two greatest cities of the Universe, said they, have at the same time expressed the highest ingratitude for their principal citizens, but Rome in the most crying and inexcusable manner. For at length vanquished Carthage hath banished beaten Hannibal, the author of all their calamities: but victorious Rome injures Scipio, to whom she is indebted for her victory.* Some on the contrary main-

A. R. 565. maintained, *that no citizen ought to be exalted so*
 AUL. C. 187. *much above the rest, as it should not be allowable to*
call him to an account for his conduct. That the
means for preserving liberty in a Republick, was to
reduce the most powerful to the necessity of taking his
trial and defending himself, when it should be deemed
proper. To what private person, could any part of
government be confided, much less placing him at the
head of the Commonwealth, if he was not to be ac-
countable for his actions? What Security could there
be for intrusting any person whatsoever with the
smallest interests, and much less with those of the
whole Commonwealth, if such person were not ob-
liged to give an account of his conduct? That it was
not unjust to use force against any one whatsoever,
who could not suffer equality. Such was the dis-
course of the People till the day of trial.

Never did any citizen, not excepting Scipio himself whilst Consul or Censor, come into the Forum with a greater train of the citizens of all orders, than when he appeared at this time to take his trial.

Grievan-
 ces of the
 Tribunes
 against P.
 Scipio.
 Liv.
 xxviii.
 51.

The Tribunes of the People, in order to dispose them for the present accusation, revived the old calumnies which had been raised against him on the occasion of the pretended luxury and voluptuousness during his residence at Syracuse, and the commotions excited at Locri in respect to Pleminius. But when they came to the crime of peculation, with which they then charged him, they could support it only with suspicions and conjectures, without producing any solid proof. “They
 “ said, that Antiochus had restored him his son
 “ without ransom, and that he had paid him the
 “ same deference, as if he had been the sole ar-
 “ biter at Rome of war and peace. That in the
 “ province he had acted with the Consul as Dic-
 “ tator, and not as a meer lieutenant. That he
 “ had

“ had attended him thither only to shew Greece,
 “ Asia, and all the Kings and States of the East,
 “ what he had long persuaded Spain, Gaul, Si-
 “ cily, and Africa, that a single man was the
 “ prop and support of the Roman empire; that
 “ Rome, that mistress of the universe, owed her
 “ safety only to the shadow of Scipio’s name; that
 “ the least sign of his will had all the authority of
 “ the Senate’s and People’s decrees.” In a word,
 not being able to make him criminal, they en-
 deavoured to render him odious.

When (a) Scipio was ordered to answer, with-
 out saying a single word of the crimes objected to
 him, he spoke of his exploits with so much ele-
 vation and dignity, that no one had ever been
 praised either with more magnificence, or more
 truth. For the same spirit and courage, which
 had animated all his actions, appeared in his dis-
 course, and the nicest ears could not be offended
 with a liberty, which he only used to defend him-
 self, and not from the motive of vain glory. The
 speeches having taken up the whole day, the affair
 was referred to another.

*Scipio, in-
 stead of
 answering
 them, car-
 ries the
 whole
 assembly
 with him
 to the Ca-
 pitol, to
 thank the
 gods for
 his vic-
 tory.
 Liv. ibid.*

That being arrived, the Tribunes of the People
 ascended the tribunal of harangues early in the
 morning. The accused being summoned, broke
 through the croud, attended by a great number of
 clients and friends, and as soon as silence had been
 made in order to his being heard: *Tribunes of the
 People*, said he, *and you fellow citizens, it was upon
 this very day that I conquered Hannibal and the Car-
 thaginians in Africa. So happy a one ought not to*

(a) Jussus dicere causam, neque veriùs laudatum esse.
 sine ulla criminum mentione, Dicebantur enim ab eodem
 orationem adeo magnificam animo ingenioque, à quo gesta
 de rebus ab se gestis exorsus erant; & aurium fastidium
 est, ut satis constaret, nemi- aberat, quia pro periculo, non
 nem unquam neque meliùs, in gloriam, dicebantur. *Liv.*

A. R. 565. *be passed in disputes, discussions, and prosecutions.*
 ANL. C. 187.

I am therefore going directly to the Capitol to pay adoration to great Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and the rest of the gods who preside in that temple and citadel; and (a) to thank them for having given me on this, and many other days, the desire and capacity to serve the Commonwealth with advantage and glory. Follow me, Romans, as many of you as have leisure, and love your country, and pray the gods, that they may always give you Generals and magistrates who resemble me. I may speak thus with confidence, if it be true, that from my seventeenth year to the advanced age, to which I have attained, you have always preceded my age with your honours, as I have your honours with my services.

After having held this discourse, he quitted the Forum, and walked towards the capitol. That very moment the whole assembly followed him thither to the very clerks and serjeants of the Tribunes, who were left alone with their slaves and the crier, whom they had brought with them to cite the accused before them. Scipio went from the Capitol to all the temples of the city, still followed by the whole Roman People. (b) To judge aright of true glory this day did Scipio more honour by the avowed esteem and veneration of the public, than that on which he entered Rome in triumph, after having defeated Syphax and the Carthaginians.

(a) Hisque gratias agam, quod mihi & hoc ipso die, & tæpe aliàs, egregiè Reipublicæ gerendæ mentem facultatemque dederunt. Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, ite mecum, Quirites; & orate deos, ut mei principes similes habeatis: ita, si ab annis septendecim ad senectutem semper vos ætatem meam

vestris honoribus anteistis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis præcessi. *Liv.*

(b) Celebratio is propè dies favore hominum, & æstimatione veræ magnitudinis ejus fuit, quàm quo triumphans de Syphace rege & Carthaginiensibus urbem est invehctus. *Liv.*

This

This was the last of his days of glory. For ^{A: R. 565.} foreseeing the differences which he should neces- ^{Ant. C. 187.} sarily have with the Tribunes of the People, he ^{P. Scipio} took advantage of the delay of the trial to retire ^{retires to} to Linternum, fully resolved to appear no more ^{Linter-} to defend himself. (a) His soul was too haughty, ^{num.} and his sentiments too elevated, besides which he ^{Ibid. 52.} had passed his life in too high a sphere, to descend to the suppliant, and to learn the humble part of a person accused.

On the day to which the affair was adjourned, when the accused was summoned, L. Scipio his brother said, that sickness prevented him from appearing. But the Tribunes would not admit that excuse. They pretended, that he had absented himself to avoid answering in effect of the same pride, that had induced him to quit the Forum, the Tribunes, and the assembly, to draw away with him to the Capitol his judges themselves, and to deprive them of the right and liberty of giving their suffrages. Then addressing themselves to the multitude: *You have, continued they, received the just reward of your facility in suffering so rash an enterprize. You quitted us to follow him, and now you see he abandons you yourselves. We suffer our authority to decline every day in such a manner, that the person whom seventeen years ago you sent Tribunes of the People with an Ædile to seize and bring to Rome, though actually at the head of the army and fleet; now, when he is but a private individual, we dare not send to fetch from his country house, in order to oblige him to submit to the judgment here to be passed upon him.* L. Scipio having implored the aid of the other Tribunes, they passed a decree, by which accepting the al-

(a) Major animus & natura ret, & summittere se in hu-
erat, ac majora fortunæ af- militatem causam dicentium.
fuetus, quàm ut reus esse sci- Liv.

A. R. 565. ledged excuse of sickness, they declared that it
 Ant. C. 187. was their intention that time should be given the
 accused, and that the trial should be deferred.

*Tib. Sem-
 pronius
 Gracchus,
 Scipio's
 enemy, de-
 clares for
 him a-
 gainst his
 colleagues.
 Liv.
 xxxviii.
 53.*

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio's particular enemy, was one of the Tribunes of the People. That magistrate having forebade his name to be inserted in the decree of his colleagues, it was expected, that he was going to declare against Scipio with the utmost rigour, when he spoke as follows. *As L. Scipio pleads his brother's sickness as an excuse for his absence, that ought to suffice. I will not suffer him to be proceeded against before his return; and even then, if he desires my aid, I will support him with my authority to dispense with him from answering. Scipio, by the greatness of his exploits, and the honours to which you have so often raised him, has, by the confession of gods and men, attained to so high a degree of glory, that it is more shameful for the Roman People than for himself, to see him the mark of the accusations and invectives of an indiscreet multitude at the foot of the tribunal of harangues. What!* continued he, addressing himself to the Tribunes with a tone and air of indignation, *Would you see Scipio, the conqueror of Africa at your feet? Did he not defeat and put to flight four of the most famous of the Carthaginian Generals with their four armies in Spain; did he not take Syphax prisoner, did he not conquer Hannibal, has he not made Carthage tributary to Rome, has he not lastly forced Antiochus, by a victory, of which his brother is contented to share the glory with him, to retire beyond mount Taurus, only to sink under the malignity of the Pætillii, and to see them triumph over him? (a) How! shall the virtue of*

(a) Nullis-ne meritis suis, ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolabilis vestris honoribus un- lata saltem senectus eorum quam in arcem tutam, & velut confidat? Liv. sanctam, clari viri pervenient;

great

great men never find, either in its own merit, or the honours to which you raise it an asylum and kind of sanctuary, in which their age, if it does not receive the respect and homage due to it, may at least find refuge from insult and injustice?

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.

The decree of Gracchus, and the discourse he added to it, made a great impression upon the whole assembly, and even the accusers themselves. They said they would reflect upon the affair, in order to judge what was consistent with their duty and authority. As soon as the People were retired, the Senators assembled, and the whole body, especially the seniors and persons of consular dignity, returned Gracchus great thanks for his having sacrificed his private resentments to the honour of the Commonwealth. The Pætillii on the contrary were exceedingly reproached, (a) for having endeavoured to crush virtue to acquire themselves a name, and for having sought, by triumphing over Scipio Africanus, to adorn themselves with his spoils. This affair was stifled, and no more was said of it.

Though that great man had distinguished himself in all the things, that form the character of heroes, he however excelled in war more than in peace. The first part of his life was more memorable than the last, because he had passed his whole youth in camps and armies: whereas during the rest of his days he had few occasions of exerting the great talents he had received from nature. What did his second Consulship and his Censorship add to the glory he had acquired in the first? What splendor did his employment of lieutenant in Asia add to his first exploits, which was rendered useless by sickness, faddened by the

Livy's reflections upon P. Scipio.
Liv. ibid.

(a) Quòd splendere aliena invidia voluissent, & spolia ex Africani triumpho peterent. Liv.

A. R. 565. taking of his son, and by the necessity under
 Ant. C. 187. which he was at his return, either to submit to an unjust judgment, or to avoid it by renouncing his ungrateful fellow-citizens for ever? The point of light of his greatness and glory, is the second Punic war happily terminated; the greatest and most dangerous Rome ever had upon its hands.

Scipio passed the short time he lived afterwards in an obscure retreat, if compared with the lustre of his military exploits: but no less estimable and glorious for him, if we consider the constancy and equality of soul, with which he bore this disgrace. These reverses of fortune often give the greatest of men, sorrow, dejection, and anguish. The tumult and agitation in which they have always lived, make repose and solitude insupportable to them. Scipio bore his with the same courage, which had rendered him invincible to fatigues and dangers. He confined himself to the manner of life of the antient Romans, that is, a simple and laborious one after their example, making it an honour and pleasure to himself to cultivate his land with his own victorious hands. Seneca, in a letter, which he dates from the very place, to which the great Scipio retired, on mentioning the tomb that contained his ashes, cries out, that he does not doubt but the soul of that great man was returned to heaven, his true country, not because he had commanded great armies, for the same might be said of that weak and frantic King Cambyfes, but from the moderation and patience which he shewed in quitting Rome. “ I (*a*) take great pleasure, says he, in comparing
 “ the

(*a*) Magna me voluptas sub- gulo ille Carthaginis horror,
 bit contemplantem mores Sci- cui Roma debet quòd tantum
 pionis ac nostros. In hoc an- semel capta est, abluabat cor-
 pus

“ the manners of Scipio with ours. That great
 “ man, the terror of Carthage and support of
 “ Rome, after having cultivated his field with his
 “ own hands, used to bathe in this dark hole,
 “ *balneolum angustum, tenebrosum ex consuetudine*
 “ *antiqua*) lived under this humble roof, and
 “ was satisfied with so gross a pavement! Who
 “ now would bear such a mean way of life?”

I do not doubt but a small number of noble friends visited him in this retreat, and were to him instead of all Rome. But history does not mention them; and we must not apply to him what is said of the intimate friendship between the second Scipio Africanus and Lælius, and of the rural diversions they took together. It is easy, without particular attention, to confound the two Scipios and the two Lælii with each other, in effect of their exceeding resemblance in many things. I am well persuaded, that the famous poet Ennius, for whom (*a*) our Scipio, whose victories he had celebrated, had a particular affection, did not fail of paying that most illustrious exile all the duties of a good friend in his retreat. It is no wonder that Scipio gave this poet great marks of his esteem and regard. He was convinced, that as long as Rome should subsist, and Africa be in subjection to Italy, the memory of his great actions could not expire: (*b*) but he also believed, that the writings of En-

pus laboribus rusticis fessum:	sustinuit! At nunc quis est qui
exercebat enim opere se, ter-	fic lavari sustineat?
ramque (ut mos fuit priscis)	(<i>a</i>) Carus fuit Africano su-
ipse subigebat. Sub hoc ille	periori noster Ennius Itaque
tecto tam sordido stetit: hoc	etiam in sepulchro Scipionum
illum tam vile pavementum	putatur is esse constitutus. Cic.
	<i>pro Arch. n. 22.</i>

(*b*) Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ,

Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa

Lucratus rediit, clariùs indicant

Laudes, quàm Calabræ Pierides. *Hor. lib. iv. Od. 8.*

A. R. 565. nius were highly capable of exalting the lustre,
 A. C. 187. and of perpetuating the remembrance of them.

Livy says, that historians differ very much concerning the circumstances of the trial and death of Scipio Africanus. I shall relate only two instances on this head.

Some say, that he ended his days, and was interred at Rome, and others at Linternum. At both places his tomb and statue were shewn. Livy tells us, that he had seen his tomb and statue, which had been placed upon it at Linternum, but that a storm had thrown it down. We have just seen, that Seneca also believed that Scipio's tomb was at Linternum. On another side, there were in the time of Livy, without the gate called Capena, in the place, where the monuments of the Scipios stood, three statues, one of which was said to be that of P. Scipio, the other of L. Scipio, and the third of the poet Ennius. It seems probable enough, that the second Scipio Africanus had caused these statues to be erected.

Scipio's daughter married to Gracchus. Scipio had two daughters. He himself married the eldest to P. Cornelius Nasica. It is agreed that the youngest was married to Tib. Sempronius Gracchus: but it is not certain, that Gracchus married her till after the death of Scipio Africanus; or that this alliance was contracted between the two families in the following manner, which seems to suppose that P. Scipio had not been cited before the People. It is related, that as L. Scipio was carrying to prison, Gracchus swore, that he was still an enemy of the Scipios, and that he had no desire to be reconciled with them: but that he would not suffer L. Scipio to be thrown into the same Prison, where P. Scipio his brother had caused the Kings and Generals of the enemy to be confined. It is added, that the Senators accidentally supping that day in the Capitol,

tol, rose in a body, demanded of Scipio Africanus to give his daughter in marriage to Tib. Gracchus, and pressed him to promise her to him in the midst of that solemn feast. That Scipio having complied with their request, told his wife Æmilia on his return home, that he had promised their youngest daughter in marriage. That his lady, offended that he had not consulted her, replied, that though he had chosen Tiberius Gracchus for his son-in-law, he ought not to have made it a secret to a mother. That Scipio upon this, seeing his wife thought as he did of Gracchus, and charmed to find her sentiments agree with his in respect to what he had done, replied, that he had given her to Gracchus himself. This daughter was the celebrated Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

For the rest I believe, that in respect to the accusation of P. Scipio, we may rely upon what has been said before, which is taken word for word from Livy.

The voluntary banishment, or, as Livy says, *Law proposed for the death of Scipio Africanus*, highly encouraged his enemies, the most considerable of whom was *enquiring concerning the money received from Antiochus.* M. Porcius Cato (a), who even during the life of that great man, through a virulence, which does him no honour, had incessantly attacked him, and endeavoured to render a credit and glory so justly acquired, odious. The enmity of Cato, founded upon so evident a difference of characters, had broke out from the time he had been Quæstor

(a) Qui vivo quoque eo *allatrare* ejus magnitudinem solitus erat. Liv. *It is hard to render the word ALLATRARE* in French, but in English to bark at, seems to come near the sense of it.

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A.U.C. 187.

under Scipio in the war of Africa. (b) It was a custom with the Romans, and a kind of law, for the Quæstors to respect the Generals under whom they served as their own fathers. Cato did not act in this manner. Disgusted with the great and noble manner in which that General lived, he left him at Sicily, returned to Rome, and incessantly exclaimed with Fabius in the Senate against Scipio's immense and useless expences. This enmity rose to the highest excess at the time of which we are speaking. It is believed, that it was at Cato's sollicitation, that the Pætillii undertook to accuse him in his life, and that they brought on the affair again after his death, by proposing a law to the People, that the necessary enquiries might be made for knowing what was become of the money exacted from Antiochus and his subjects, which had not been brought into the public treasury. L. Furius Purpureo, a man of Consular dignity, one of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into Asia, desired that this enquiry might extend to the Kings and States of those countries, in order to involve Cn. Manlius his enemy in the affair. L. Scipio, who was more concerned than any other person in the enquiry desired with so much ardor, seemed only sensible in respect to his brother's honour, and complained, " that this law was proposed precisely upon the death of that great man. That they had not been contented with depriving him of the funeral oration, with which his death ought to have been honoured; but attacked his life with calumnious accusations. That the Carthaginians, satisfied with the banishment of Hannibal, carried their

(b) Sic à majoribus nostris suo parentis loco esse oportere accepimus, prætorem quæstori *Divin. in Verr. 61.*

“resentment no farther: but that the Roman People extended their hatred against Scipio so far, as to wound his reputation after his death, and to desire to sacrifice his brother to the envy of his enemies.” Cato spoke in favour of the law proposed by the Tribunes. His discourse upon this subject, was extant in the time of Livy. The authority of such a person obliged the Mummi, Tribunes of the People, to desist from their intended opposition: after which all the Tribes gave their suffrages conformably to the intention of the Pætillii, and the law was passed.

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Ant. C. 187.

The Senate then nominated Q. Terentius Culeo Prætor, to take cognizance of this affair, regulate the enquiry, and determine in consequence. Immediately after L. Scipio was accused before him, with his two Lieutenants Aulus and Lucius Hostilius, surnamed Cato, and his Quæstor C. Furius Aculeo: and to insinuate that all his officers had their share in the peculation, two registers or clerks, and a serjeant who had been employed under him, were included. But Lucius Hostilius and the inferior officers were acquitted, before Scipio was tried. L. Scipio, his Lieutenant A. Hostilius, and his Quæstor C. Furius were condemned, under pretext that Antiochus, in order to obtain more favourable conditions of peace, had given L. Scipio * four hundred and fourscore pounds of gold in weight, and six thousand of silver, more than he had brought into the public treasury; to † A. Hostilius fourscore pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of silver; and

* The gold amounts to about seventeen thousand pounds sterling.

The silver to about twenty-two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

† The gold three thousand pounds.
The silver seventeen hundred

pounds.

A. R. 565. lastly, to the Quæstor Furius * an hundred and
 Ann. C. 187. thirty pounds of gold, and two hundred of silver.

*He is or-
 dered to be
 imprisoned* The Prætor Q. Terentius having terminated
 this famous prosecution, Hostilius and Furius
Speech of gave security for the sums in which they were fined.

Scipio As to L. Scipio, as he protested, that he had
Nasica in caused all the gold and silver he had received to
his favour. be carried into the public treasury without appro-

Liv. priating any thing, he was ordered to be carried to
 xxviii. prison. Upon which P. Scipio Nasica implored
 55, 56. the aid of the Tribunes against that violence, and
 made a speech in which he not only included a
 truce, and at the same time a very magnificent elo-

gium of the house of *Cornelia* in general, but of his
 own branch of it in particular.

He said, “ That the two Scipios, Publius and
 “ Lucius his brother, who was to be imprisoned,
 “ and himself who then spoke, were the sons of
 “ Cneus and Publius those two illustrious Gene-
 “ rals, who had made war so many years in Spain
 “ with the Carthaginian and Spanish Generals and
 “ armies; and who, after having added to the
 “ glory of the Roman name, not only by their
 “ military virtues, but the example of tempe-
 “ rance, justice, and faith which they had given
 “ those nations, had at length both been killed
 “ fighting gloriously for the Commonwealth.
 “ That it had been no small honour for their chil-
 “ dren to sustain the reputation of their fathers :
 “ but that Scipio Africanus had so much surpassed
 “ his in glory, and had raised himself so much
 “ above the condition of other mortals, that the
 “ Romans were convinced, he was descended from
 “ the gods. That as to L. Scipio, who was at
 “ present in question, not to mention what he

* *The gold five thousand two hundred and fifty pounds:
 The silver seven hundred and fifty pounds.*

“ had done in Spain and Africa as his brother’s A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187A
 “ Lieutenant, the Senate, after having elected
 “ him Consul, had conceived so high an idea of
 “ his capacity, that they had in a peculiar man-
 “ ner granted him the province of Asia, and had
 “ commissioned him to make war against Antio-
 “ chus; and that his brother’s esteem for him
 “ had induced him to serve under him as his Lieu-
 “ tenant, he who had been twice Consul and Cen-
 “ sor, and who had triumphed over Hannibal and
 “ the Carthaginians. That in this war, as if
 “ fortune had designed to prevent the glory of
 “ the Lieutenant from obliterating that of the
 “ Consul, P. Scipio had been left sick at Elæa,
 “ where he continued at the time his brother had
 “ given Antiochus battle and defeated him near
 “ Magnesia. That to find a pretence for accusing
 “ the victor after a peace, it was supposed that
 “ he had sold it. That it did not appear, that
 “ the same reproach extended to the ten commis-
 “ sioners, with whose advice Scipio had concluded
 “ it. That even amongst those ten commissioners
 “ there were some who had accused Cn. Manlius,
 “ not only without obtaining entire credit, but
 “ without being able to suspend his triumph in
 “ the least.

“ But it is pretended, that the conditions of
 “ peace granted Antiochus by Scipio, render that
 “ General suspected of having favoured an ene-
 “ my at the expence of the Commonwealth.
 “ Some are so bold as to advance, that his whole
 “ kingdom has been left him, and that he has
 “ lost nothing of what he possessed before his de-
 “ feat. And they venture to say, that of all the
 “ gold and silver exacted from that Prince, no
 “ part has been brought into the public treasury,
 “ and that the whole has been appropriated to pri-
 “ vate advantage. How great a calumny is this!

A. R. 565. " Was not as great a quantity of gold and silver
 Ant. C. 187. " shewn to the public on the day of Scipio's tri-
 " umph, as the whole spoils of ten triumphs to-
 " gether, chuse which we will, could not equal.
 " What need I mention the bounds set to the do-
 " minions of the conquered Prince, to an whole
 " People who know that before the battle Antio-
 " chus was master of all Asia, and the countries
 " of Europe adjacent to it? Nobody is ignorant
 " that the country from mount Taurus to the
 " Ægean sea, forms a great part of the universe,
 " and contains a great number not only of cities,
 " but of provinces and nations. That this whole
 " region, which is above thirty days march in
 " length, and more than ten in breadth between
 " the two seas, has been taken from Antiochus,
 " and that he has been banished to the extremity
 " of the world. Admitting that peace was not
 " sold him, which is true, could a greater part
 " of his dominions be taken from him. That af-
 " ter Philip and Nabis were conquered, the first
 " had been left Macedonia, and the other Sparta.
 " That this had not been made criminal to Quin-
 " tius; without doubt because he had not a bro-
 " ther like Scipio Africanus, whose glory drew
 " , envy upon him, instead of preserving him from
 " calumny. That though the whole estate of
 " Scipio were to be sold, including a great
 " number of inheritances that had fallen to him,
 " they would scarce amount to the sum which he
 " was declared to have appropriated to his own
 " advantage. How then could any body suppose
 " that he had received so much money from An-
 " tiochus? That in an house, not exhausted by
 " luxury, a considerable increase of riches should
 " be found, if the accusation formed against Sci-
 " pio had any foundation. That the enemies of
 " that General, not being able to find the sum, in
 " which

“ which they had caused him to be condemned, ^{A. R. 565.}
 “ by the sale of his goods, were going to satiate ^{Ant. C. 187.}
 “ their envy and hatred upon his person, by load-
 “ ing so illustrious a man with chains, and
 “ throwing him into a dungeon, to be the com-
 “ panion of thieves and assassins, and in which
 “ he would expire miserably to be afterwards
 “ thrown out of the prison gates. That so un-
 “ worthy a treatment would reflect more disgrace
 “ upon the city of Rome, than upon the house
 “ of the Cornelii.”

The Prætor Terentius contented himself to op- ^{Tib. Grac-}
 pose Nafica with the law Pætilia, the decree of ^{chus opposes}
 the Senate, and the sentence passed against Scipio, ^{L. Scipio's}
 which he ordered to be read; adding, that if he ^{imprison-}
 did not cause the sum in which he had been con- ^{ment.}
 demned to be paid into the public treasury, he ^{Liv.}
 could not dispence with sentencing him to be im- ^{xxxviii.}
 prisoned. The Tribunes of the People having re- ^{60.}
 tired to deliberate, Fannius returned a moment af-
 ter, and declared for himself and his colleagues,
 except Gracchus, that the Tribunes did not oppose
 the execution of the sentence.

Ti. Gracchus then said, “ That he would not
 “ hinder the sums which Scipio was condemned
 “ to repay unto the treasury from being levied up-
 “ on his estate, but that he would never suffer a
 “ General to be imprisoned with the enemies of
 “ the Roman People, who had conquered the
 “ most powerful King of the world; who had
 “ extended the bounds of the empire to the ex-
 “ tremities of the universe; who had attached to
 “ the Romans, Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so
 “ many other cities and States of Asia by the many
 “ obligations he had laid upon them in the name
 “ of the Roman People; and lastly, who had
 “ laid so many of the Generals of the enemy in
 “ prison; and that he decreed that he should not
 “ be

A. R. 565. “ be deprived of his liberty.” The decree of
 Ant. C. 187. Gracchus was received with so much applause, and
 Scipio’s liberty gave the whole People so much
 joy, that it might have been thought it was at
 some other place and not at Rome that he had
 been condemned.

*The sale
 and value
 of L. Sci-
 pio’s estate
 justifies
 him.*

Liv. *ibid.*

The Prætor afterwards ordered the Quæstors to
 confiscate and cause the estates of L. Scipio to be
 sold. There not only appeared no sign of hav-
 ing received money from Antiochus, but the sale
 did not produce the twenty-seven thousand pounds
 required of him. His relations, friends, and cli-
 ents raised a contribution amongst themselves, and
 offered him so considerable a sum, that if he had
 accepted it, he had been much richer than he was
 before his sentence. He thanked them all for
 their generosity, but would take nothing: he only
 suffered his nearest relations to buy such of his
 moveables for him as were necessary for living
 with decency; and the public hatred, to which
 the Scipios had been victims, retorted upon the
 Prætor, the Judges, and the Accusers.

When we consider the accusations formed
 against these two great men, we may well cry out
 with Scipio: “ Oh! (a) how often are the citi-
 “ zens, most zealous for the honour of the Com-
 “ monwealth, and who have rendered it the
 “ greatest services, to be lamented, as their great
 “ actions are not only forgot. but even the great-
 “ est crimes are imputed to them.”

(a) Miseros interdum cives, res præclarissimas obliviscun-
 optimè de republica meritos! tur, sed etiam nefarias suspi-
 in quibus homines non modò cantur. *Pro Mil.* 63.

S E C T. III.

Description of the country of the Ligurians, the perpetual enemies of the Romans. They are subjected by the two Consuls. Justice done the Galli Cenomanes. Regulation in respect to the Latin Allies. M. Fulvius demands a triumph, and obtains it notwithstanding the opposition of a Tribune of the People. Strange and abominable fanaticism of the Bacchanalians discovered, and punished, at Rome. Q. Marcius is surprized, beaten, and put to flight by the Ligurians. Better success in Spain. Combat of Athletæ. Origin of the war with Perseus. Philip's grievances in respect to the Romans. He prepares for renewing the war. Upon the complaints of several States against Philip, Rome sends three commissioners into their countries, who, after having heard the several parties, make regulations. Good success in Spain, and in Liguria. Return of the commissioners from Greece to Rome. The Senate sends new deputies thither. Philip causes the principal persons of Maronæa to be assassinated. He sends his younger son Demetrius to Rome.

WHILST part of the things, of which we have been speaking passed, the two Consuls made war in Liguria. This nation seemed destined to exercise the arms of the Romans, and to keep up their military discipline at the times when they had no important wars to sustain. There was no province so proper as this for keeping the soldiery employed. For Asia, by the beauty and charms of its cities, the abundant luxury with which both the land and sea supplied it, the effeminacy of the enemy they acted against, and the opulence of its Kings, sent home the Roman

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.
Description of the country of the Ligurians, the perpetual enemies of Rome.
Liv. xxxix. 1.

A. R. 565. man armies richer, but did not render them more
 Ant. C. 187. warlike. This was particularly experienced under Cn. Manlius, who, from having indulged the troops in too great a licentiousness in that country, suffered a considerable defeat in Thrace, where he found the ways more difficult and the enemy more warlike. On the contrary, in Liguria every thing contributed to keep the troops in play and attentive to their duty: a rough country full of mountains; steep and narrow passes, with perpetual ambuscades; active and vigorous enemies, who fell upon them when they least expected it; fortresses strong by art and nature, which they were under the necessity of attacking by exposing themselves to continual labours and dangers; and lastly a poor and barren country in which the soldier was obliged to live hardly, without hope of gaining considerable spoils to make them amends for their fatigues.

The Ligurians reduced by the two Consuls.
 Liv.
 xxvix. 2.

The Consul C. Flaminius several times defeated the Ligurians, called Friniates, in their own country, reduced them to submit to the power of the Romans, and took away their arms. But, as they had concealed the greatest part of them, they soon resumed them, quitted their towns, dispersed into the inaccessible places and steep rocks; and not believing themselves sufficiently safe there, they passed the Appennine mountains. The General pursued them thither, and after they had defended themselves for some time upon the eminences to which they had retired, he obliged them to surrender. He then made a stricter search for their arms, and deprived them entirely of them. He then marched against the Ligurians called Apuani, who had made such frequent incursions into the territories of Pisa and Bologna, that it had not been possible for the inhabitants to sow their lands.

Have

Having also subjected that people, he secured the peace and tranquillity of all the neighbouring parts, who gave him the highest praises and thanks. This kind of expeditions, which are very laborious and disgusting in themselves, but at the same time very beneficial, render a General, who employs his whole care upon them without remission, the more estimable, as they have nothing shewy in them, or that soothes the ambition of a warrior. He thought himself sufficiently rewarded by the pleasure of doing good to mankind, and of procuring them repose. * Something of this kind we see in our times.

Flaminius not being able to employ his troops longer in war in a country where he had left them no enemies, set them to work upon a † Way from Bologna to Arretium. This was an admirable custom of the Romans, who considering inaction and idleness as a fatal source of effeminacy and vice, always kept their soldiers employed, either in military or public works. This perpetuated so exact and severe a discipline amongst their troops, and at the same time rendered them indefatigable and invincible.

The Consul M. Æmilius attacked other Ligurian States with the same vigour and success. He deprived them all of their arms, and made them come down from the mountains into the plains. Having re-established peace in Liguria, he marched his troops into the lands of the Gauls, and made a great road from Placentia to Ariminum, where it joined the *Via Flaminia*.

* Mr. Rollin seems here to allude to Corsica.

† We must not here confound the great road in question, with that called the *Via Flaminia*, which was made during the administration of this Consul's father, that is, the Consul killed in the battle of *Thrasymenus*.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.
Justice
done the
Galli Ce-
nomans.
Liv.
xxxix. 3. Furius, the Prætor of Gaul, seeking in peace a pretext for making war with the Cenomanes, with whom he had no subject of discontent, had attacked, and disarmed them. That People sending to Rome to complain of this injustice, were referred to the Consul Æmilius, and having pleaded their cause before that General, whom the Senate had impowered to decide it, were declared innocent, and Furius had orders to quit the province.

Regulation
in respect
to the La-
tin allies. The Senate afterwards gave audience to the deputies of the Allies, who, from all parts of Latium, were come to represent that great numbers of their people were settled at Rome, and caused themselves to be included in the *Census* with those of the city. The Prætor Q. Terentius Culeo was appointed to make the enquiry, and to send home all those into their country, whom the deputies should prove to have been inrolled there, either in their own persons or by their fathers, during the censorship of C. Claudius and M. Livius, or that of their successors. This enquiry sent home twelve thousand Latines into Latium, and discharged Rome of the multitude of strangers who began to be a burthen to it.

M. Fulvius
demand's a
triumph,
and obtains
it, not-
withstanding
the op-
position of
a Tribune
of the Peo-
ple.
Liv.
xxxix. 4. Before the Consuls returned to Rome, the Proconsul M. Fulvius arrived there from Ætolia. After having given the Senate an account in the temple of Apollo of what he had done in Ætolia and Cephallenia, he desired the Senators in the usual form, to decree that, for the success of his arms, due thanks might be returned to the gods, and that he might be permitted to enter the city in triumph. The Tribune M. Aburius declared, that he opposed whatever might be decided in that respect before the arrival of the Consul Æmilius. He added, “ that that magistrate had rea-
“ sons to alledge against the demand of Fulvius,
“ and

“ and that in setting out for his province he had
“ desired him to prevent any thing from being
“ resolved in that respect till his return. That
“ this delay did Fulvius no prejudice, and that
“ the Senate would still be at liberty, even in the
“ presence of the Consul, to decree what they
“ should deem proper.”

M. Fulvius replied, “ that though the public
“ were not apprized of the enmity Æmilius bore
“ him, and of the animosity and almost tyrannical
“ haughtiness with which that Consul carried
“ on his bad proceedings against him even to
“ excess; it would be highly inconsistent that his
“ absence should defer the duty owed to the gods,
“ and the reward himself had deserved; and that
“ a General should be stopt at the gates of Rome,
“ who had fought successfully for the glory of the
“ Commonwealth, with the victorious army, the
“ prisoners he had brought with him, and the
“ spoils with which the troops were laden, till it
“ should please the Consul, who stopped on purpose,
“ to return into the city. But what justice
“ could he expect from a magistrate, who abandoned
“ himself to passion and hatred to such a degree,
“ as to have a decree clandestinely passed
“ by a small number of Senators to declare that
“ Ambracia had not been taken by force of arms;
“ whilst it was certain, that it had been necessary
“ to employ mantles, towers, and battering rams
“ for making breaches in the walls; that they
“ had been obliged to make new batteries in the
“ room of those, which the besieged had burnt
“ and destroyed; that they had fought fifteen
“ days round the walls above and under ground;
“ that the soldiers, when masters of the walls,
“ were forced to fight from morning till night;
“ and lastly, that more than three thousand of the
“ enemy had been killed during the siege. That
“ he

A. R. 565.
Ant C. 187.

A. R. 565. “ he had carried his enmity so far as to accuse
 AUL. C. 187. “ him before the Pontiffs of having plundered
 “ the ornaments of the temples in a city taken
 “ by force of arms; as if it had been allowable
 “ to take away the spoils of Syracuse and other
 “ cities to adorn Rome with them, and Ambrafia
 “ was a privileged city, and the only one from
 “ which nothing could be carried off without com-
 “ mitting sacrilege. That he implored the Se-
 “ nators and the Tribune himself not to expose
 “ him to the intended injuries of an enemy ac-
 “ tuated by pride and haughtiness.”

The Senators immediately began, some to in-
 treat the Tribune to desist from his opposition,
 and others to reproach him. But what most
 served Fulvius, was the speech made by Ti. Grac-
 chus one of Aburius's colleagues. He said “ that
 “ he abhorred to use the power of his office even
 “ against his own enemies: but that nothing was
 “ more shameful nor more unworthy of a Tri-
 “ bune of the People than to use the authority
 “ given them by the sacred laws to gratify the
 “ passions of any one. (a) That it was from the
 “ sentiments of the heart People love or hate,
 “ and from reason that they should either approve
 “ or condemn, and not the caprice of others, in
 “ making it a rule, and blindly giving into it.
 “ That the Tribune was in the wrong to support
 “ the unjust hatred of the Consul, to regard the
 “ particular orders he had given him, and to for-
 “ get that the Roman People had confided the
 “ Tribunitian power to him to aid the citizens
 “ when necessary, and maintain them in the en-
 “ joyment of their liberty, and not to favour the

(a) *Suo quemque judicio & bere, non pendere ex alterius
 homines odisse aut diligere, & vultu ac nutu, nec alieni mo-
 res probare aut improbare de- mentis animi circumagi. Liv.*

“ tyranny

“ tyranny of Consuls. That he did not reflect, ^{A. R. 565.}
 “ that posterity would know to his disgrace, that ^{Ant. C. 187.}
 “ of two Tribunes of the People of the same year,
 “ the one had sacrificed his private resentments
 “ to the general good of the Commonwealth, and
 “ the other had pursued those of another through
 “ no other motive but a mean compliance with
 “ him who had commanded it.”

The Tribune gave in to these remonstrances; and when he had quitted the assembly, a triumph was decreed to M. Fulvius. The latter, having been informed that Æmilius, to whom the Tribune had wrote that he had desisted, after having set out to oppose this ceremony in person, had been taken sick upon the way, anticipated the day of his triumph, that it might precede the Consul's return, and the new disputes which he would have upon his hands with an enemy so virulent against him. Besides very considerable sums of gold and silver, arms, machines of war, and other spoils of the enemy, with twenty seven officers of distinction prisoners of war, which adorned this triumph; two hundred and eighty five brass statutes, and two hundred and thirty marble ones were carried in it, fatal nourishment of the taste for those works of art, which began to prevail at Rome, and soon after made such terrible havock. The Triumpher caused five and twenty denarii to be distributed to each of his soldiers (about twelve shillings and six pence) twice as much to the Centurions, and thrice to the horse.

Towards the end of the year Cn. Manlius Vulso ^{*Triumph of*} triumphed over the Gauls who inhabited Asia. ^{*Manlius.*} He had deferred his triumph, through fear of being cited to a trial in virtue of the law Pætilia during the Prætorship of Q. Terentius Culco, and of being the victim of the enemy that had crushed L. Scipio. He knew, that the judges

A. R. 565. would be more inexorable in respect to him, than
 A. R. C. 187. they had been in the affair of his predecessor, because he had suffered the soldiers to live in a general licentiousness, that had absolutely ruined the military discipline, which Scipio had caused to be observed with great severity. And it was not only on the account of the excesses into which they had ran in the province, and out of the sight of the citizens, that rendered them odious; but still more those to which they abandoned themselves every day before the eyes of the Roman People. For (a) it was Manlius, and those who had served under him, who introduced the luxury and voluptuousness of Asia at Rome. It was they who brought in the beds adorned with brags, rich tapestry, curtains for beds and litters, and other works laboured with art, and which was considered then as the height of luxury, tables standing upon a single foot, and buffets. It was they who to the pleasures of the table added that of music, having in their pay female players upon the harp and other instruments, buffoons, actors, and the like sort of people, whose trade it was to divert the guests whilst at table. At this time they began also to cook their dishes with more pains and delicacy. And in consequence, a cook, who of old was the meanest of all slaves, was considered as the most necessary, and most esteemed servant of the house; and that which was at first considered as the vilest and most contemptible of

(a) *Luxuriæ peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Asiatico inventa in urbem est* — Tum psalteriæ sambucistriæque, & convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis. Epulæ quoque ipsæ & cura & sumptu majore apparari cceptæ. Tum

coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium & æstimatione & usu, in pretio esse; &, quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi ccepta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum conspiciebantur, semina erant futuræ luxuriæ. *Liv.*

offices,

offices, became a considerable and important employment. But these excesses, the novelty of which surprized at that time, were only a faint image of the enormous luxury into which the Romans plunged afterwards.

A. R. 565.
Ant. C. 187.

Manlius's triumph was very splendid and magnificent. The whole army in general, in the military songs, which usually attended that pomp, gave him the praises, which manifestly proceeded from his facility and indulgence. This occasioned his triumph to be more applauded by the soldiers than the people.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

A. R. 566.
Ant. C. 186.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

A kind of intestine conspiracy, covered with the pretence of religion, kept the two Consuls this year at Rome, and did not leave them at liberty to employ themselves in military expeditions. A certain Greek of neither birth nor note came first to Tuscany, and brought thither new sacrifices, or more properly, frantic and criminal superstitions. He was not one of those, who, for subsistence, profess publicly some religious worship, and teach people rites and ceremonies which include nothing contrary to the interests and laws of society. His mysteries were unknown, and celebrated in secret. At first he initiated only a small number of persons: but he soon admitted indifferently all who offered themselves of either sex. And in order to attract a greater number, he prepared them with the pleasures of wine and feasting. The darkness of the night giving room for abandoned licentiousness, all kinds of crimes and abominations were committed at these meetings. So horrid a libertinism was not the only vice of these nocturnal assemblies. Abundance of other crimes

Strange and abominable fanaticism of the Bacchanals discovered at Rome.
Liv. xxxix
8—19.

A. R. 566.
A. C. 136. issued from the same corrupt source ; as false witness, forgery of wills and other writings, informations against innocent persons, poisoning, and lastly, murders committed so secretly, that the very bodies of the unhappy persons were not found to have interment.

These abominations from Tuscany reached Rome like a contagious disease that spreads gradually. The greatness of the city kept them concealed some time, as usually happens. But at length it came to the knowledge of the Consul Postumius in the following manner. P. Æbutius, the son of a Roman Knight, having lost his father, and his mother (whose name was Duronia) having married again, he had fallen into the hands and guardianship of Sempronius his father-in-law. The latter, who had managed his pupil's estate so as not to be capable of giving an account of it, conceived thoughts of ridding himself of the young man. The means which seemed to him most proper for that end, was to cause Æbutius to be initiated in this sect of the Bacchanalians. His wife, to whom he had imparted his design, proposed it to the young man, and told him that during the time he had been sick, she had vowed to the gods, that she would initiate him amongst the Bacchanalians as soon as he recovered. He readily consented to accomplish a vow, to which he believed himself indebted for his life, and made certain prescribed preparations for it, of which one of the principal consisted in abstaining from women during ten days. This young man had contracted a commerce with a curtezan, who lived in the neighbourhood called Hispala Fæcenia. She had sentiments uncommon to persons of her profession, and had attached herself to young Æbutius out of esteem and affection, and not at all from the motive of interest. By her liberality he

he was enabled to live in an handsome manner, which he could not otherwise have done through the avarice of his father-in-law, and even of his mother, who in respect to him was become a very mother-in-law. A. R. 566.
Ant. C. 186.

As the young man concealed nothing from her, he declared to her that he intended to be initiated in the mysteries of the god Bacchus, and told her the reason. *May the gods forbid*, cried out Hispala, terrified with what he said, *and rather give us both death, than suffer you to execute so fatal a design.* Æbutius, surprized at her discourse, and still more at the concern of Hispala, desired her to explain herself. She told him, that when she was a slave, she had waited upon her mistress to these mysteries, where she had never been since she had been free: but that she had seen enough at them to convince her, that there was no kind of vices to which persons did not abandon themselves in these nocturnal assemblies. She did not quit him, till she had made him swear, that he would entirely renounce such detestable mysteries.

After this conversation, he went home to his mother's, and on her telling him what he must do that and the following day to prepare himself for the ceremony of which she had spoke to him, he declared to her, in the presence of his father-in-law, that he would not be initiated. Duronia immediately cried out in a rage, that Hispala had given this advice: that enchanted by the poisonous charms of that Circe, he regarded neither his father, mother, nor the gods. The dispute growing warm by degrees, Sempronius and Duronia turned him out of doors. The young man went directly to his father's sister Æbutia, and told her the reason for his mother's turning him out of her house. The next day, by the advice of that lady, he went to the Consul Postumius, to whom he se-

A. R. 566.
A.M.C. 186. crelty told all he knew of these nocturnal mysteries. That magistrate, having heard him, dismissed him with orders to return three days after. That time he employed in making the necessary enquiries. He began by Æbutia the young man's aunt, whom he desired to go to the house of his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, a lady of great distinction. Upon the first questions which he made her, she wept, complaining of her nephew's misfortune, who deprived of his estate even by those that ought to have protected him, was then at her house, having been turned out of his mother's for only having too much innocence and modesty to consent to partake in mysteries that were said to be full of horrors and obscenities.

He then sent for Hispala, who was more capable than any one of giving him an exact account of all these dark mysteries. As soon as she saw the Consul, she swooned, and did not recover from her fright without great difficulty. Postumius having encouraged her, took her into the privatest part of the house, and there, in the presence of Sulpicia, he told her, "that she had nothing to fear, if she
 " could resolve to tell the truth: that himself, or
 " Sulpicia, if she thought best, would give her
 " their promise and full assurance of this. That
 " she must therefore inform him without any dis-
 " guise of all that usually passed in the nocturnal
 " sacrifices of the Bacchanalians in the grove *Sti-*
 " *mula*." (This was probably the name of a
 goddess invoked in these ceremonies.) On these words Hispala was seized with such terror and a trembling of every limb, that she continued a great while without being able to open her mouth. When she had recovered herself, she declared, that whilst she was a slave and very young, she had accompanied her mistress to these sacrifices: but that during several years since she had been
 free,

free, she had known nothing of what passed in them. As she persisted in denying that she knew any thing farther, the Consul, assuming the tone of supreme magistrate, declared to her, “ that as
 “ he was perfectly informed in every thing, he
 “ did not want her evidence; but that he well
 “ knew how to punish her criminal silence and
 “ impudent lies as they deserved.” Terrified by these menaces, and at the same time a little encouraged by the kind expressions of Sulpicia, she began by declaring that she was afraid of the gods, whose hidden mysteries she was going to reveal, but still more of men, who, when they should know what she had said against them, would tear her to pieces. The Consul having promised her entire protection, she discovered every thing to him, tracing things from their origin. She told him, “ That at first these mysteries had been cele-
 “ brated by women, no man being admitted to
 “ them. That three days in the year were set
 “ apart for the initiation of those who offered
 “ themselves to be admitted into this society. That
 “ the women succeeded each other as priestesses each
 “ in their turn. But that Paculla Minia of Capua having been raised to that dignity, had introduced changes and innovations in these ceremonies, with which she said she had been inspired by the gods. That it was she who had
 “ admitted the first men to be present in them,
 “ namely her two sons Minius and Herennius,
 “ That she had caused these sacrifices to be celebrated in the night, and not in the day; and
 “ that instead of three days set apart every year
 “ for the initiations, she had instituted five every
 “ month. That since men had been admitted into them, and the darkness of the night had admitted a licentiousness which daylight had banished before, there were no kind of crimes,
 “ vices,

A. R. 565.
 Ant. C. 186.

“ vices, and abominations, to which they had
 “ not abandoned themselves without scruple,
 “ That those who refused to share in them were in-
 “ humanely massacred as victims to appease the
 “ wrath of the gods.” After having related other
 less criminal ceremonies, she added, “ That the
 “ number of the initiated was already so great,
 “ that it composed a second People at Rome, of
 “ which many illustrious persons of both sexes
 “ were part.”

She concluded with prostrating herself at the Consul's feet, and imploring him out of pity to transport her far from Italy into some place, where she might be safe from the revenge of those whose vile actions she had discovered. Postumius assured her that she had nothing to fear, and that he would provide for her security without making her quit Rome. In the mean time, Sulpicia lodged in a separate apartment at the top of her house. As for Æbutius, he was ordered to stay in the house of one of the Consul's clients. Postumius having taken this care of the two informers, acquainted the Senate with all he had learnt.

When he had made his report, the Senators were seized with a double terror. They apprehended the consequences of so pernicious a conspiracy for the Commonwealth, and each of them was particularly afraid, lest some of their own family or friends might be engaged in it. It was decreed, that the Consul should be thanked for the pains he had taken in discovering the whole without noise or tumult. By the same decree the Senate appointed him and his colleague to enquire in an extraordinary manner concerning the ministers of these nocturnal ceremonies, and their accomplices and adherents, taking great care to protect Æbutius and Hispala from their cruelty, and promising rewards to whomsoever should assist them

them in discovering this mystery of iniquity. A. R. 566.
Ant. C. 186. They also decreed that the priests and priestesses, who presided in these sacrifices, should be seized not only at Rome, but in all the other adjacent towns and cities, and that they should be at the discretion of the Consuls: that it should be prohibited at Rome by an edict, which should be also sent throughout all Italy, for all such as had been initiated amongst the Bacchanalians, to assemble upon the occasion of these sacrifices, or any ceremony relating to them. The decree expressly, mentioned that all such should be punished, who had conspired against the lives or honour of any person whatsoever.

The Consuls commanded the curule Ædiles to find out all the priests of these sacrifices, to seize them, and to keep them confined, in order to their being interrogated from time to time, and the Ædiles of the People, to take care that no sacrifices should be performed in secret. *The Triumviri Capiales* (officers of justice employed in criminal affairs) were ordered to plant sentinels in the different quarters of the city, and to prevent nocturnal assemblies. And in order to prevent fires, commission was given to ten other of the civil officers, some on one side, and five on the other of the Tiber, to take care in concert with the Triumviri, and under their orders, for the preservation of buildings each in their respective quarters.

As soon as the dispositions were made, the Consuls called an assembly of the People. Postumius spoke and began with the solemn prayer which the magistrates repeated previously to haranguing the People. This custom is remarkable, and shews that the Romans implored the aid of the Divinity on all important occasions. The Consul added, “ That this prayer was never more necessary than
“ in

A. R. 566.
A. M. C. 186.

“ in the affair upon which he was to speak to
 “ them, which equally concerned the worship of
 “ the gods and the safety of the Commonwealth.
 “ That a new religion, under the name of the Bac-
 “ chanalians, had been established not only in the
 “ provinces, but Rome itself, during some years,
 “ and that nocturnal promiscuous assemblies of
 “ men and women, and in which all kinds of the
 “ most execrable crimes were committed. That
 “ every kind of libertinism, fraud, villany and
 “ impiety, that had been acted during some years,
 “ had come out of that infamous society. That the
 “ number of the persons initiated into that im-
 “ pious sect encreased daily, and might become
 “ formidable to the State itself, if the progress of
 “ it were not stopt. That many had been drawn
 “ into the error through weakness and ignorance,
 “ because nothing is more capable of seducing
 “ than a criminal superstition covered with the
 “ venerable garb of religion. That it was not
 “ unlikely, but that some of their kindred or
 “ friends might through libertinism have engaged
 “ in this infamous society: but, in that case, that
 “ they ought to own them no more for friends and
 “ relations. That they ought not to be alarmed
 “ by any scruples upon this occasion, nor fear of
 “ acting contrary to religion in approving and se-
 “ conding the severity of the Senate and Consuls
 “ against execrable crimes, the horror of which
 “ the guilty endeavoured to hide under the veil of
 “ piety to the gods. That the gods themselves,
 “ not being able to suffer such crimes and sacri-
 “ leges to be committed in their names, had
 “ brought these enormities out of darkness to ex-
 “ pose them in full light, not with design that
 “ they should remain unpunished, but that they
 “ might avenge, by the exemplary punishment
 “ of the guilty, their violated majesty. That
 “ whilst

“ whilst the magistrates were intent upon reform-
 “ ing this evil by their cares and vigilance, they on
 “ their side, ought punctually to perform the or-
 “ ders that should be particularly given for the
 “ same end.”

A. R. 566.
 Ant. C. 186.

The Consuls afterwards caused the decree of the Senate to be read, and proposed a reward to whoever should bring before them, or inform them of any of their accomplices. At the same time they declared, “ that if any of those informed against
 “ should fly, a certain fixed time should be set
 “ for their appearance, after which they should be
 “ condemned for contumacy. That if any out
 “ of Italy should be accused, a longer term should
 “ be granted them for appearing, and making
 “ their defence. They farther prohibited by an
 “ edict all persons, of whatsoever condition they
 “ might be, of selling or buying any thing with
 “ design to favour the flight of the accused ; or
 “ to take them into their houses, keep them con-
 “ cealed, or assist them in any manner what-
 “ soever.”

As soon as the assembly of the People was dismissed, the whole city was in a consternation, which soon extended to the territory of Rome, and from thence throughout all Italy, in proportion as the citizens wrote to their friends and acquaintance to inform them of the decree of the Senate, the discourse of the Consuls to the People, and the edict which they had caused to be published. The night after the assembly of the People, some of the criminals going to the gates of the city in order to escape, were stopt by those who were appointed to guard them, and put into the hands of the Triumviri. A great number who had already got out, were brought back. Abundance both of men and women, were informed against, amongst whom were some who prevented punish-
 ment

A. R. 565.
A.M.C. 186. ment by a voluntary death. The number of the initiated of both sexes amounted to above seven thousand. Four in particular, two of whom were of the city of Rome, and the other two of the neighbouring cities, were considered as the heads of this impious cabal, the high priests, and founders of these sacrifices, in a word, the authors of all the crimes and disorders committed in them. Such right measures were taken, that they were soon seized. As soon as they appeared before the Consuls, they confessed their crime, and did not delay their sentence in the least.

As many of those who had been informed against were not at Rome to appear and make their defence before the Consuls, those magistrates, in order to terminate this affair as soon as possible, removed into the neighbouring cities, to carry on the prosecutions, and to pass sentence. Those who were not convicted of having been initiated, and of having pronounced the form of the oath dictated by the Prætor, but not committed any of the excesses to which they had obliged themselves by their oath, were kept prisoners. But the corrupters, murderers, false witnesses, forgers, those who had counterfeited wills, or offered any other forged writings in evidence, were punished with death. The majority were found to deserve death. The women, whom the Consuls condemned, were put into the hands of their kindred or guardians, in order to their execution. If there was no body to whom they might be delivered to be punished, they were publickly put to death.

The Senate afterwards passed a * decree for destroying and entirely demolishing, first at Rome,

* This decree is come down to us, and the learned have subscribed it and commented upon it, as found upon a plate of brass, that has endured so many ages.

and next throughout all Italy, the abominable places where the Bacchanalians were celebrated. That, if any one thought it their duty to do such acts of Religion, and that he could not be dispensed from performing it without guilt, he should deliver in his declaration to the Prætor of the city, who should make his report of it to the Senate. That, if the Senate consisting of at least an hundred fathers, permitted it to be done, he might offer his sacrifice, on condition however, that not above five persons at most should be present at it, that there should be no common purse, and that no one should take upon him the quality of priest or master of the sacrifices.

It was thought proper to send Minius Cerrinus the Campanian, one of the four principal heads of this society, to the prison of Ardea, with orders to the magistrates carefully to guard him, not only to prevent all means of his escape, but even of killing himself.

Postumius being returned to Rome, after having finished his prosecutions, and proposed to the Senate that a reward should be given to P. Æbutius and Hispala, it was decreed that the Quæstors of the city should pay each of them an hundred thousand asses (about two hundred and fifty pounds.) Singular privileges were granted to both. Amongst other things, Hispala, who was a freed-woman, was permitted to marry a free husband, without imputation of infamy to the man who married her. The Consuls and Prætors for the time being were directed to protect her, and to secure her against all kinds of insult. All these regulations, and others expressed in the decree of the Senate, were confirmed by a Resolution of the People. The Consuls also had orders to reward the informers, as they should think proper.

A. R. 566.
Ant. C. 186. The event which we have just related, shews of what excesses man is capable when left to himself, and the depravity of his corrupt nature. To engage by oath, that is, by what is most sacred in religion, to commit the most abominable of crimes: what blindness! what horror!

Q. Mar-
cius is de-
feated and
put to flight
by the Li-
guri-ans.
Liv. xxxix
20. The two Consuls had Liguria for their province. The affair of the Bacchanalians being terminated, they prepared for their departure. Marcius set out first, and arrived amongst the Ligurians called Apuani. Whilst he was pursuing them in their forests, their usual refuge against the Roman armies, he fell into ambuscades which they had laid for him, and lost four thousand men, many ensigns, and a great quantity of arms.

Better suc-
cess in
Spain.
Ibid. 21. Almost at the same time news came to Rome, that C. Atinius, who had gone to Spain two years before as Prætor, had gained a considerable advantage there. Having given the Lusitanians battle in the territory of Asta, he had killed them six thousand men, put the rest to flight, and taken their camp. He marched immediately after to besiege the city of Asta with the victorious legions, and took it with as much ease, as he had done the camp of the enemy. But having approached the walls with a little too much imprudence, (which is a great fault in a General) he received a wound of which he died some days after.

On this side of the Iberus in Spain the Celtiberians gave Manlius Acidinus battle near Calagurris. The Romans killed them twelve thousand men upon the spot, took two thousand prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. If the ardor of the victors had not been stopt by the arrival of his successor, the Celtiberians would have been entirely subjected. This change of Generals was a considerable inconvenience in the
form

form of the Roman government, but had however its great advantages. A. R. 566.
Ant. C. 186.

M. Fulvius, to discharge a vow, which he had made in the war of Ætolia, exhibited games at Rome, in which were combats of Athletæ, and hunting of lions and panthers for the first time. *Combats of Athletæ.*
Ibid. 22.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 567.
Ant. C. 185.

M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS

The war, which the Romans had some time after with Perseus and the Macedonians, had, according to Livy, another cause than that commonly assigned by the Roman historians before him. And the design of it was not conceived by Perseus, but his father Philip, who would have begun it himself, if death had not prevented him. *Origin of the war with Perseus.*
Liv. xxxix
23.

Of all the laws imposed upon that Prince as conquered, that which gave him most pain, was the Senate's having deprived him of the right to punish such of the Macedonians as had quitted his party during the war, though Quintius in referring the decision of this point to another time, had given him room to hope that he should have satisfaction in it. He had also other subjects of complaint, as the following: After the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the Consul Acilius and Philip had separated, to go at the same time, the one to besiege Heraclea, and the other Lamia. Now Acilius, after having reduced Heraclea, had forbid Philip to continue the siege of Lamia, which afterwards surrendered to the Romans. The Consul indeed to console and mollify him, suffered him to gain some advantages. But a King does not easily digest and forget such haughty and rigorous treatment, which seemed to reduce him into a kind of slavery.

These

A. R. 567.
 Ant. C. 185.
Philip
prepares to
renew the
war.
 Liv. xxxix.
 24.

These reserves of the Consul seemed to have somewhat appeased the indignation, which Philip had conceived against the Roman haughtiness: but he incessantly made preparations to set new forces on foot, in order to be in a condition to renew the war, as soon as a favourable occasion should offer. He not only increased the taxes that subsisted upon the estates of the country, and the merchandize imported into the maritime cities, but he reinstated the old mines that had been abandoned, and caused others newly discovered to be worked. And in order to repeople his dominions, the greatest part of the inhabitants of which had been carried off by the calamities of war, he did not confine himself to the measures he had already taken in obliging his subjects to marry and propagate children: he also settled a great multitude of Thracians in Macedonia, and during the whole time that he had no enemies upon his hands, he spared no pains to augment the riches and strength of his kingdom.

Upon the
complaints
of several
States a-
gainst Phi-
lip, Rome
sends three
commission-
ers to the
places, who
after hav-
ing heard
the parties,
determine.

The Romans soon gave him new matter of discontent. For the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and King Eumenes, having brought their complaints to Rome, the first by themselves, and Eumenes by his Ambassadors; the Senate heard both so as to give the complainants cause to judge they were inclined to espouse their cause. Other States also made their representations. Philip did not omit to send his Ambassadors to Rome to vindicate himself; affirming, that he had acted nothing but in concert with the Generals of the Commonwealth, and with their permission. The Senate, not believing it proper to decide any thing in the King's absence, sent three commissioners to terminate these differences upon the spot.

When

When they arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called, in which appeared on the one side the Ambassadors of the Thessalians, Per-
A. R. 567.
Ant. C. 185.
 rhæbians, Athamantes, and on the other King Philip in person, a very mortifying step in itself for so powerful a Prince as him. The Ambassadors expressed their subjects of complaint against Philip more or less strongly, each according to his character and genius. “Some (a) conjuring
 “the King of Macedonia not to take offence at
 “complaints which proceeded solely from the love
 “mankind naturally have for liberty, implored him
 “to quit the insupportable rigor of absolute lord
 “and master, and to assume in respect to them
 “the good-will and favour of friend and ally,
 “and to imitate in that the Roman People, who
 “chose rather to attach States to them by love
 “than fear. Others, and especially the Thessa-
 “lians, less moderate and reserved, reproached
 “him to his face with injustice, violence, and
 “usurpation. That he had thereby so much ter-
 “rified all the Thessalians, that there was not a
 “single man amongst them, that dared to open
 “his mouth either in their cities, or in the gene-
 “ral assembly of the nation, the Romans who
 “could support them in liberty being remote,
 “whereas they had upon their borders an impe-
 “rious master, who would not permit them to
 “enjoy the good intentions of the Roman Peo-
 “ple. And what was there of freedom in man,
 “if debarred the liberty of speech? That in
 “reality if they presumed to groan, rather than
 “speak, they were indebted for it to the presence

(a) Petentes ut ignosceret taretur populum Romanum,
 pro libertate loquentibus: & qui caritate, quàm metu, ad-
 ut, deposita domini acerbita- jungere sibi socios mallet.
 te, assuesceret socium atque Liv.
 amicum sese præstare: & imi-

A. R. 567. “ and protection of the Roman commissioners.
 Ant. C. 185. “ That if the Romans did not find means to put
 “ an end to the subjection of the nations that
 “ bordered upon Macedonia, and check the inso-
 “ lence of Philip, they had conquered him, and
 “ restored the liberty of Greece in vain. (a) That
 “ like a resty horse, that Prince could only be
 “ kept in by sharp and painful curbs.” Philip,
 in order to appear rather the accuser than the ac-
 cused, on his side made some complaints in re-
 spect to places that he said had been usurped from
 him. Then, after having answered in his way the
 reproaches and demands of these different States,
 he added, “ That (b) the Thessalians passionately
 “ abandoning themselves to the sweetness of entire
 “ and unlimited liberty, for which they had long
 “ impatiently thirsted, insolently and excessively
 “ abused the goodness and indulgence of the Ro-
 “ man People. That therein they resembled
 “ slaves, who, in the first moments of a liberty
 “ obtained contrary to their expectation, began
 “ the use of it with the excess of licence, and
 “ made it a glory to treat their masters with re-
 “ proaches and insult.”

The commissioners, after having heard the ac-
 cusations and answers, the particulars of which I
 thought proper to omit, as little material to the
 reader, and made some particular regulations, de-
 ferred giving their judgment upon the respective
 demands of either side.

(a) Utequum sternacem non
 parentem, frenis asperioribus
 castigandum esse.

(b) Insolenter & immodicè
 abuti Thessalos indulgentia
 populi Romani, velut ex diu-
 turna siti nimis avidè meram

haurientes libertatem. Ita,
 fervorum modo præter spem
 repente manumissorum, licen-
 tiam vocis & linguæ experiri,
 & jactare sese in sectatione &
 conviciis dominorum. *Liv.*

From

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to examine what related to the cities of Thrace, and the King followed them highly discontented. The Ambassadors of Eumenes represented to the commissioners, “ That if Rome was resolved to restore the liberty of the cities Ænea and Maronæa, the King was far from opposing it. But that if she did not concern herself in respect to those cities conquered from Antiochus, the services of Eumenes, and those of Attalus his father, seemed to claim that they should rather be given up to their own master than to Philip, who had no right to them, and had usurped them by open violence. That besides, Eumenes had the decree of the ten commissioners for him, who in granting him the Chersonesus and the city of Lyfimachia, had undoubtedly granted him Ænea and Maronæa, which by their very situation must be considered as appurtenances of so considerable a gift.” The Maronites, who were heard next, complained bitterly of the injustices and violences which Philip’s garrison exercised in their city.

Philip did not speak at this time in his usual tone, but personally addressing his discourse to the Romans, he declared, “ he had long perceived, that they were determined to do him justice in nothing. He made a long enumeration both of the considerable injuries he pretended to have received, and of the services he had rendered the Romans on different occasions; insisting much upon the inviolable attachment he had evidenced for them, so as to refuse three thousand talents, (about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds) fifty ships of war, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus had offered him to enter into an alliance with him. That notwithstanding he had the grief to see

A. R. 567.
 Ant. C. 185.

“ Eumenes preferred to him in every thing, with
 “ whom he thought it below him to compare
 “ himself; and that the Romans, far from add-
 “ ing any thing to his dominions, as he con-
 “ ceived he had well deserved, deprived him of
 “ cities which were either his own by right, or
 “ which themselves had given him. *It is your*
 “ *business Romans,* said he in concluding, *to re-*
 “ *solve upon what terms I am to be with you. If*
 “ *you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and*
 “ *to drive me to extremities as such, you have only*
 “ *to go on as you have began. But, if you still re-*
 “ *gard in me the quality of a King, your friend and*
 “ *ally, spare me, I conjure you, the shame of so*
 “ *unworthy a treatment, which I undoubtedly do not*
 “ *deserve.*”

This discourse of the King made some impres-
 sion upon the commissioners. They therefore
 would not absolutely condemn him, but answered
 in such a manner as to leave him some hope.
 They declared: “ That if the cities in question
 “ had been adjudged to Eumenes by the ten com-
 “ missioners, as he pretended, they could change
 “ nothing in the decree. That if Philip had ac-
 “ quired them by right of conquest, it was just
 “ that they should continue his. That if neither
 “ the one nor the other was proved, the cogni-
 “ zance of the affair ought to be referred to the
 “ Senate, and in the mean time the garrisons to
 “ evacuate the cities; the right of the parties on
 “ both sides to continue in all its extent.”

This regulation, which provisionally obliged
 Philip to withdraw his garrisons out of the cities;
 far from satisfying that Prince, left in his heart a
 discontent and resentment, which would inevita-
 bly have broken out in an open war, if a longer
 life had afforded him time.

The

The two Prætors of Spain, who had united A. R. 567.
Ant. C. 185.
Good suc-
cess in
Spain.
Liv.
xxxix.
30, 31. their troops, at first received a slight blow, but soon after gained a considerable victory near the Tagus. The enemy lost above thirty thousand men in it. Above an hundred and thirty ensigns were taken in it. The loss of the Romans was but inconsiderable.

The two Consuls had also good success in Li- And in
Liguria.
Ibid. 32. guria.

There was a very warm dispute concerning the Consulship for the ensuing year, especially between the Patricians, who to the number of four solicited the single place they could have, for one was reserved for the Plebeians. Of these four, three had already canvassed this office ineffectually: P. Claudius was the sole new candidate. The Consul Appius Claudius his brother, forgetting his dignity in his favour, ran about the Forum with him without being attended by his Lictors, and like a private person. His adversaries, and the greatest part of the Senate, represented to him, that he ought to have more regard to the character of Consul than to that of the brother of P. Claudius, and to remain upon his tribunal to be either the arbiter, or quiet spectator of the election of the Consuls. He however continued his solicitation with no less warmth, and at length succeeded in causing his brother to be elected Consul. L. Porcius Licinus, of the order of the Plebeians, was given him for colleague.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 568.
Ant. C. 184.

L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

The commissioners, in quitting Macedonia, Return of
the com-
missioners
from
Greece. had repaired to Achaia, which they left highly dissatisfied with the Achæans, who had refused to call a general assembly to give them audience. At their

A. R. 568. their return to Rome, they reported their com-
 Ant.C. 184- mission to the Senate, and at the same time intro-
The Senate duced the Ambassadors of Philip and Eumenes,
send a new and those of other States. They only repeated on
commission each side the same complaints and answers, which
thither. had been already made in Greece. The Senators
 Liv xxxix decreed a new commission, at the head of which
 33. Appius Claudius was placed, to go into Macedo-
 nia and Greece to enquire whether the Thessalians
 and Perrhæbians were put into possession of the
 cities from which Philip had engaged to withdraw
 his garrisons, and to make him evacuate Ænea
 and Maronæa, and in one word, to quit all the
 fortresses, territories, and cities which he possessed
 upon the maritime side of Thrace.

Philip When Philip was informed by his Ambassadors,
massacres who were returned from Rome, that he must ab-
the princi- solutely evacuate the cities of Thrace, exasperated
pal persons to madness to see his realm hemmed in on all sides,
of Maro- he vented his rage upon the inhabitants of Maro-
næa. næa. He ordered Onomastus, who commanded
 Liv xxxix. along the sea-coast, to cause all the heads of the
 34. faction against him to be put to death. That
 officer employed one Cassander of the King's
 party, long settled at Maronæa, to put that
 Prince's barbarous order in execution. He made
 a body of Thracians enter the place in the night,
 who put those to the sword, whose deaths were
 desired, with the same inhumanity, as if it had
 been in a town carried by storm. Philip, having
 thus taken his revenge of those who were not of
 his faction, quietly waited the arrival of the com-
 missioners, convinced that none would presume to
 declare themselves his accusers.

The commissioners arrived soon after, and be-
 ing informed of what had passed at Maronæa,
 warmly reproached Philip with this bloody execu-
 tion, no less unjust to the innocent Maronæans,
 than

than an insult to the Roman People, whose protection had occasioned so cruel a death to those, whose liberty the Senate had intended to establish. That Prince affirmed, that neither himself, nor any agents of his had any share in this massacre: that it had been the effect of a commotion which had happened between his partisans and those of Eumenes. He went so far as to propose to the commissioners to interrogate the Maronæans. But who would have dared to accuse that Prince, after the late terrible example of his vengeance? *It is in vain*, said Appius, the principal commissioner, *for you to excuse yourself. I know what hath passed, and who was the author of it.* These words gave Philip great anxiety. They however urged the affair no farther on this first interview.

But the next day Appius commanded him to send Onomastus and Cassander immediately to Rome, in order to their being interrogated by the Senate upon the fact in question; adding, that it was his only means for justifying himself. On this order, Philip changed colour, wavered, and hesitated long before he replied. At last he said, that he would send Cassander, who was at Maronæa during the time of the affair: but he insisted upon keeping Onomastus with him, who, said he, cannot be in the least suspected, because at the time of this massacre he was very remote from that country: His true reason was his fear, that a man who had his confidence, and whom he had often employed on very delicate occasions, might discover many secrets to the Senate, besides what related to the people of Maronæa. As to Cassander, as soon as the commissioners had quitted Macedonia, he made him embark: but he sent people with him, who poisoned him in Epirus. And such is often the reward of those, who per-

A. R. 568. petrate the unjust and tyrannical will of bad
 Ant. C. 184. Princes.

Philip After the departure of the commissioners, who
sends his set out fully convinced, that Philip had ordered
younger son the massacre at Maronæa, and that he was upon
Demetrius the point of breaking with the Romans, the King
to Rome. of Macedonia saw all he had to fear. Reflecting
 Liv. *ibid.* alone and with his friends, that his hatred against
 the Romans, and the desire of avenging himself
 began to appear, he was much inclined to take
 arms against them immediately, and to make war
 openly upon them: but, as his preparations were
 not yet compleat, he conceived an expedient for
 gaining time. He resolved to send his younger
 son Demetrius to Rome, who had long been an
 hostage in that city, and having acquired esteem
 there, seemed more proper than any other person,
 as well to cause his justification to be accepted, as
 to obtain favour for what it would not be easy to
 excuse. He therefore prepared every thing neces-
 sary for this embassy, and chose persons of con-
 fidence out of the principal lords of his court, to
 accompany his son.

At the same time he promised the people of
 Byzantium to aid them against the Thracians,
 who incommoded them, not that he was much
 concerned about their defence, but because, in
 going to their aid, he should spread terror a-
 mongst the petty Sovereigns of Thrace in the
 neighbourhood of Propontis, and should prevent
 them from being an obstacle to the design he had
 formed of making war with the Romans. Ac-
 cordingly, having conquered those petty Kings
 in a battle, and taken their leader, he disabled
 them from hurting him, and returned into Ma-
 cedonia.

I omit the dispute, which arose between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, of which the same commissioners, who had been sent by the Romans to Philip, took cognizance, because that affair has more relation to the history of the Greeks, than to that of the Romans. It is treated with sufficient extent in the VIIIth volume of the Ancient History.

S E C T. IV.

Very warm dispute concerning the Censorship. Cato is chosen Censor notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Nobility. L. Valerius is his colleague. Cato nominates his colleague Prince of the Senate. He degrades L. Quintius Flaminius. Cato's efforts against luxury. Gauls who pass the Alps into Italy. They build a town, which the Romans oppose. Complaints against Philip brought to Rome. Demetrius his son, who is there, is sent back into Macedonia with the Ambassadors. Death of three illustrious Generals. Gauls driven out of Italy where they are desirous to settle. New colonies. Different rumours upon the return of Demetrius into Macedonia. He gives his brother great disquiet, and his father much jealousy. Violent and cruel proceedings of Philip in respect to his subjects. Philip, upon the information of false witnesses suborned by Perseus, puts Demetrius to death. He himself dies of grief. Perseus succeeds him. Dispute between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. Successful expedition against the Ligurians. Considerable defeat of the Celtiberians. The tomb of Numa found in the earth. First gilt statue at Rome. The Ligurians ask peace. Hostages restored to the Carthaginians. The Ligurians called Apuani are transported into Samnium. The Celtiberians are defeated by Fulvius in the very ambus-

ambuscades they had laid for him. Fulvius, crowned with glory, returns to Rome. Expedition of the Consuls in Liguria. Complaints against Gentius King of Illyricum. Great number of poisoners condemned. Fulvius triumphs over the Celtiberians, and is elected Consul. First law called Annalis. Games celebrated by the Consul Fulvius. Reconciliation of the two Censors, who had long been declared enemies.

A. R. 568.
 ANL.C. 184

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
 L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

*Very warm
 dispute con-
 cerning the
 Censorship.
 Cato is e-
 lected Cen-
 sor not-
 withstand-
 ing the
 violent op-
 position of
 the Patri-
 cians.
 L. Valerius
 is his col-
 league.
 Liv.
 xxxix. 40.*

THIS year the election of Censors occasioned very warm and violent commotions. The Censorship was the supreme of honours, and to use the expression, the crown of all the dignities to which the ambition of a Roman citizen could aspire. Besides the great powers annexed to it in respect to the different kinds of public affairs, it gave those invested with it a right to take cognizance of the lives and manners of individuals. For the Romans judged, that it was not consistent to leave every one at liberty to act as he should think fit, and to live according to the dictates of his own passions and desires; and that it did not suffice, that only the crimes, which directly infringed the laws of society should be punished, if vices and actions contrary to probity and honour were not liable to the public animadversion of magistrates, free and independent of the usual formalities of judiciary proceedings. This almost unlimited authority awed not only the common people, but the principal persons of the State, who, after the most glorious actions, were liable to be disgraced by the Censor with a note of infamy, if they had been deficient in point of probity and morals. It was

was in this view, that the Romans had instituted Censors to be in a manner the guardians, inspectors, and reformers of manners, to prevent persons from deviating from the paths of virtue, and from throwing themselves into the arms of voluptuousness and vice. We have explained in another place what the different functions of the Censors were.

A great number of competitors of the principal families of Rome, five Patricians, and four Plebeians, canvassed for the Censorship. But however illustrious both the one and the other were by birth, not one of them eclipsed the merit of M. Porcius Cato. He had such a greatness of soul and elevation of genius, that in whatever rank of birth fortune had placed him, says Livy, he would infallibly have raised himself to the greatest honours by his personal merit. He wanted none of the talents necessary for succeeding in either public or private affairs. He was equally capable of what either related to the city, or the country. We have seen citizens attain the great offices, some by eloquence, some by their knowledge of the law, and others by their military abilities. (a) As to him, he had so happy, convertible, and universal a genius, that to whatever he applied it, it might be said that he was born only for that. He was personally brave, and few officers had signalized themselves more by particular actions of valour; and after his having attained the great employments, he had been considered as one of the greatest and most able of Generals. During peace, if he was consulted upon matters of law, he was a very learned counsellor; if a cause were to be pleaded, a very eloquent orator. He was not of

(a) Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum dueres, quodcumque ageret.

A. R. 568. the number of those, who acquired esteem during
 Ant. C. 184. their lives by the talent of speaking, without leaving behind them any monument of their eloquence. His, after having shone out during his life in act, was after his death consigned to posterity by writings of all kinds, which were much admired. He composed many orations either for himself or his friends, or against his adversaries. His (a) enemies, who were very numerous, gave him no little employment, and on his side he gave them no less. In the war which perpetually subsisted between him and the Patricians, it cannot be said whether they gave him most trouble, or he made them suffer most. It must be confessed, that he was of an austere, and even cruel, character, and that he carried his invectives to an excess of liberty and grossness. But, to make amends, he was to all the passions that sway mankind, of a strict and undeviating rigor of manners; equally despising both favour and riches; an enemy to all superfluous expence; so intrepid in dangers, and so indefatigable in labours, that it might almost be said, that his body and courage were of steel, the vigour of which time, that subdues all things, could never change or depress. For at fourscore and six years old having been cited before the People, he pleaded his own cause, and left it in writing; and at the age of fourscore and ten, he accused Servius Galba at the same tribunal.

(a) Simultates nimio plures & exercuerunt eum, & ipse exercuit eas. Nec facile dixeris, utrùm magis preflerit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi proculdubio animi, & linguæ acerbæ & immodicè liberæ fuit: sed invicti à cupiditatibus animi, & rigidæ innocentia; contemptor gratiæ, divitiarum: in parsimonia, in patientia laboris periculique, ferrei propè corporis animique: quem ne senectus quidem, quæ solvit omnia, fregerit. *Liv.*

When

When Cato offered himself as a Candidate for the Censorship, the Patricians, who had declared against him on all the occasions of his life, did not fail to unite then to prevent his election. They considered it as a disgrace for the Nobility to suffer persons of obscure birth, and, as they called them, *New Men*, to be raised to the highest degree of honour, and the supreme of dignities. Independently of this jealousy, which was become in a manner natural to them, all Cato's competitors, who stood for this office at the same time, used their utmost endeavours to exclude him from it, in order to obtain it for themselves. L. Flaccus who had been Consul with him, and who was far from opposing him, must be excepted from this number; for it was he, as we have observed elsewhere, who had made Cato known to the People, and opened his way to the great offices. And lastly, and those not the least to fear, many who had made it their business to offend Cato on all occasions, and who knew him to be a man that did not forget injuries; and others who lived in splendor and magnificence, and were many of them conscious of an irregular life and corrupt manners: all these people dreaded the austerity of a Censor, who in all times had declared against all pomp and luxury, the irreconcilable enemy of the criminal and inflexible in every thing relating to the duties of his office.

In the midst of such violent intrigues, Cato, far from having recourse to flattery, or mean submissions, as was too much the custom of candidates, appeared in the public place with an almost menacing air, and reproached his enemies, "that they only opposed him because they apprehended a free, firm, and determinate Censor. At the same time he represented to the citizens, that the evils of the Commonwealth augmenting per-

A. R. 568. " perpetually, and threatening it with approaching
 A.M.C. 184. " ruin, they ought not to flatter themselves that
 " it was possible to cure them with gentle reme-
 " dies, and that it would be a wise part in them to
 " chuse, for so important an operation, not the
 " gentlest and most tender physicians, but the
 " most resolute and vigorous. And he did not
 " hesitate to say, that the physicians of that cha-
 " racter, such as were necessary, were himself
 " and Valerius Flaccus: that they were the only
 " ones who could be expected to reform the new
 " abuses, to cut away to the very root the luxury
 " and effeminacy which had already infected all
 " branches of the State, and to reinstate the au-
 " sterity of the antient discipline."

Rome must have had a very great idea of Cato's merit, himself extraordinary credit with every body, and the Roman People themselves a great fund of wisdom, to make the choice they did. Notwithstanding the cabal of the Nobility and Grandees, they not only unanimously elected Cato Censor, but gave him L. Valerius, whom he had desired, and almost commanded, for his colleague. Virtue, though frequently enough despised, sometimes opens itself a way through the greatest obstacles.

*Cato nomi-
 nates his
 colleague
 Prince of
 the Senate.* The commencement of their exercising the Cen-
 Liv. sorship gave great expectation, not without being
 xxxix. 42. dreaded by many. The first thing that Cato did,
 was to nominate his friend and colleague, L. Va-
 lerius Flaccus, Prince of the Senate. They de-
 prived several Senators of their dignity, one of
 which was no less illustrious by his birth, than the
 honourable offices he had born: this was L. Quint-
*He de-
 grades L.
 Quintius
 Flamini-
 us.* tius Flamininus, a person of Consular dignity, and
 brother of him that had conquered Philip. On
 the latter's request, Cato gave his reason for acting
 as he had done. It was very solid. This Quint-
 tius,

ius, whilst he commanded in Gaul in quality of Consul, to please a courtezan, who had expressed a great desire to see a man put to death, caused a criminal to be brought from prison, and to have his head cut off in the presence of that harlot, whilst they were at table. The circumstances of this action are differently related; but are the same at bottom. The accused denied the fact. Cato offered him his oath: but he would not venture to go further; such weight had the religion of oaths with the antients!

His conduct in respect to Scipio Asiaticus did not do him so much honour. On reviewing the Roman Knights, he took from him the horse kept for him by the Commonwealth; that is, he degraded him from the rank of Knight. This rigor was not approved, and seemed to proceed from the same source as his envy and ill-will to Scipio Africanus.

Cato's great design, which was highly worthy of him had it been possible for him to succeed in it, was entirely to extirpate luxury, which he considered as a cause that would one day inevitably ruin the Commonwealth. He could not attack it directly and with open force: it began to grow universal, and had already infected all orders of the State. His only resource was to give it indirect blows, and to endeavour to subvert it by gradually undermining it. One of the principal functions of the Censors was to take of all the citizens accounts of their income, in order to tax them in proportion to it. They had authority to settle the value of each person's estate as they should think fit. The citizens took an oath before they gave in their estimate; and it is observed, that none had given in false ones. This was an highly admirable fidelity, especially in the point in question, in which people usually believe it

A. R. 568. it no crime to falsify, provided it can be done with
Ant. C. 184 impunity.

Before Cato's time, the moveables, equipage, clothes, and women's toilets, were not included in the estimate of the effects which the citizens were obliged to deliver to the Censors. These are however things wherein luxury hath a great scope for displaying itself. Cato took them in, in the manner we are going to relate. If the effects we have just mentioned cost above fifteen thousand asses, or, as Plutarch expresses it, above fifteen hundred drachmas, that is, about thirty-seven pounds ten shillings, these effects were included in the estimate. After they were caused to be valued at ten times as much as they had cost, and three pieces were laid on them as a tax for every thousand of such valuation: so that a thing, for example, of the value of sixteen thousand *asses*, or fourscore pounds, he caused to be estimated at an hundred and sixty thousand *asses*, or four hundred pounds, and laid about four and twenty shillings by way of duty. Thus a tax of about four and twenty shillings was laid upon a thing, which had not cost, and was not actually worth, above fourscore pounds.

Slaves, before Cato, were included in the estimates of estates; and actually sometimes made a great part of them: but only those of above twenty years of age were set down. Cato caused those under that age to be also included, who since the last Census had been bought at the rate of ten thousand *asses* or upwards: because these were more frequently sought after than others. They were valued at ten times as much as they had cost, and consequently at an hundred thousand *asses* for ten thousand; and three for every thousand were laid upon them, as upon the effects mentioned above.

I do not know whether these new impositions were an effectual remedy against luxury; because in order to that it would be necessary to know how high these expences rose, which might be carried to excess. But it seems to me, that Cato's principle was excellent in itself, and that if every thing which ministers to luxury had great taxes laid upon it, this would perhaps be a means, if not of destroying, at least of considerably weakening and diminishing it. Would it not be rendering an whole nation great service, and especially the French Nobility so worthy of esteem and consideration for their courage, and still more for their zeal and devotion for their Prince, to abolish these idle and foolish expences in armies, of which every body knows the inconvenience and pernicious consequences?

These reformatations introduced by Cato, and some others which I omit, occasioned great exclaiming against him. But, as he acted solely from the view of the public good, he disregarded all these clamours, and continued firm and inflexible in the resolution he had taken. It appears, that the People, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Great and Rich, generally applauded the manner, in which Cato acquitted himself of his Censorship. For they erected a statue to him in the temple of Health, and placed at the bottom of it as an inscription, not his battles, victories, and triumph, but what follows: *To the honour of Cato, who having found the Roman Commonwealth in a state of declension in respect to manners; re-established and reformed it during his Censorship by sacred decrees, wise institutions, and salutary instructions.*

The People, hitherto, had not done him the like honour. And when many expressed their wonder to him, that abundance of persons without merit or name had statues, and that he had

A. R. 568.
AEL. C. 184. none: *I am better pleased, said he, that it should be asked why no statue is erected to Cato, than why there is*

The two Censors also applied themselves to different works for the convenience of the public. They caused several watering-places to be paved with stone, and the common sewers to be cleansed in the places which wanted that repair, and ordered new ones to be made in mount Aventine, and other parts of the city where they were wanting. Cato, in particular, undertook to build a Basilica or court of justice at the expence of the public in the Forum, below the place where the Senate was held. The Nobility opposed him very much in this undertaking. The building was however compleated, and called after him *Basilica Portia*; a proof that Cato, according to the great principle of the Roman People, approved as much public magnificence, as he was an enemy to private

Pro Mur. 76. pomp. *Odit Populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit.*

The Consuls of this year did nothing remarkable.

A. R. 569.
AEL. C. 185.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Q. FABIVS LABEO.

The two new Consuls had Liguria for their province.

Gauls who pass the Alps into Italy. Liv. xxxix. 22. Some troops of the Gauls beyond the Alps, having entered Italy towards the end of the year 566, by defiles hitherto unknown, had advanced into the country of the Veneti, and without committing any ravages or hostilities there, had chosen not far from the place where Aquileia afterwards stood, a place proper for building. The Romans had sent Ambassadors over the Alps to demand the cause of this proceeding. They were answered,

that this enterprize had not been set on foot either A. R. 569. Ant. C. 183. by the authority or consent of the nation, and that they did not know what those Rome complained of were going to do in Italy. They were actually They build a town; and the Romans put. employed in building their town. The Prætor had orders to prevent this enterprize, without employing the force of arms as long as he could avoid it. That if he was compelled to declare Liv. xxxix. 45. war, he should apprize the Consuls of it, it being the Senate's intention that one of them should march his legions against those Barbarians.

From the time the report had spread amongst Complaints against Philip brought to Rome. the States bordering upon Macedonia, that those who went to Rome with complaints against Philip had been heard there, and that many had found their advantage in it; a great number of cities, Demetrius his son, who was there, sent back with Ambassadors into Macedonia. and even private persons, went thither to relate their grievances against a Prince, whose neighbourhood cost them all very dear, in hopes either to be effectually redressed in respect to the injuries they declared, or at least to have some consolation from the liberty they should have of deploring them. King Eumenes amongst the rest, to whom, by decree of the Roman commissioners and Senate, the places in Thrace were to be surrendered, sent Ambassadors, at the head of which was his brother Athenæus, to inform the Senate that Philip did not withdraw his garrisons from Thrace, as he had promised to do, and to complain of his having sent aid into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, was then at Rome, whither, as we have said, his father had actually sent him to take care of his interests. He had a great number of points to answer alledged against his father, the particulars of which would be tedious, and the discussion much too prolix. The Senate seeing that the young Prince, who

A. R. 569. was little accustomed to speak in public, was con-
 Ant. C. 183. founded, caused him to be asked, to spare him
 that pain, whether the King his father had not
 given him some memorandums, and contented
 themselves with his reading them. Philip justified
 himself in the best manner possible in respect to
 most of the facts alledged against him: but he
 particularly expressed how much he was discon-
 tented with the decrees passed in respect to him by
 the commissioners appointed by Rome, and with
 the manner in which he had been treated. The
 Senate easily conceived to what all this tended;
 and as the young Prince endeavoured to excuse
 certain things, and declared in respect to others
 that every thing should be done according to the
 dictates of Rome, the Senate answered, “ That
 “ Philip could not have acted a wiser part, nor
 “ one more agreeable to the Senate, than sending
 “ his son Demetrius to Rome to make his apo-
 “ logy. That as to the past, the Senate could
 “ overlook, forget, and endure many things:
 “ that for the time to come, they confided in the
 “ promises made by Demetrius. That though
 “ he was upon the point of quitting Rome to re-
 “ turn into Macedonia, he left his good disposi-
 “ tion, heart, and attachment for Rome as hos-
 “ tages, all which he could retain inviolably,
 “ without departing from his duty to his father.
 “ That out of consideration for him, Am-
 “ bassadors should be sent into Macedonia, to
 “ rectify without noise or debate what might hi-
 “ therto have been done contrary to regula-
 “ tions. That for the rest, the Senate was well
 “ pleased, that Philip should know that he was
 “ accountable to his son Demetrius for the man-
 “ ner in which the Roman People acted in re-
 “ gard to him.” After this audience the young
 Prince set out for Macedonia. These marks of
 confi-

consideration which the Senate gave him to raise his credit with his father, served only to excite envy against him, and in the sequel occasioned his destruction.

Livy, in relating the unfortunate end of the illustrious Philopœmen, which may be found in the Antient History, observes, that many authors, both Greek and Roman, have thought proper to apprise posterity, that this year had been famous for the deaths of the three greatest Captains of their time, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and P. Scipio Africanus; an observation, which does great honour to the General of a little Republic, ranked upon the level with the two most illustrious Generals of the two most powerful States of the world.

We have lost sight of Hannibal, since the shameful peace Antiochus concluded with the Romans, one condition of which was, that he should deliver up that great man. Hannibal did not give him time, and first retired to the isle of Crete, and then to Prusias King of Bithynia, to whom he did great service in the war, that Prince soon after undertook against Eumenes King of Pergamus, the friend and ally of the Romans. The latter did not leave him long in repose, and caused complaints to be made to Prusias of his giving asylum to the declared enemy of the Romans. Prusias, to make his court to them, was not afraid to betray his guest. Hannibal having found all the passages seized through which he endeavoured to escape, caused the poison to be brought him, which he had kept a great while in order to use it on this occasion, and holding it in his hands, *Let us, said he, deliver the Roman People from the apprehensions they have had so long, since they have not patience to wait the death of an old man. Their victory of this day over a man disarmed and be-*

A. R. 569.
Ant. C. 183.

*Death of
three il-
lustrious
Generals.*

Liv. xxxix.

50.

Ant. Hist.

Vol. VIII.

*Death of
Hannibal.*

Liv. xxxix.

51.

Cor. Nep.

in Annib.

9—11.

Justin.

xxiii. 4.

A. R. 562. *traged, will not do them much honour with posterity.*
 Ann. C. 132.

After having vented imprecations against Prusias, and invoked against him the gods, protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison, and died at the age of sixty five years.

Not to interrupt the series of our history, I shall refer my reflexions upon the characters of Hannibal and Scipio to another place, though they should naturally come in here.

Gauls driven We have related above, that Gauls had passed
the Alps into Italy with design to settle there, and
they were actually employed in building themselves a
city in the country of the Veneti. As soon as the
 Consul Marcellus appeared, those Barbarians sur-
 rendered themselves to him. They were twelve
 thousand in number, most of them with no other
 arms than what they had taken in the country. It
 was not with great difficulty that they could re-
 solve to deliver them up, as well as the other ef-
 fects they had taken in their way, or had brought
 with them. Accordingly they sent Ambassadors
 to Rome with their complaints. When they were
 introduced into the Senate by the Prætor C. Vale-
 rius, they represented, “ that having been obliged
 “ to abandon Gaul their country, that was not
 “ capable of subsiding the too great multitude of
 “ inhabitants, they had passed the Alps in quest
 “ of some settlement elsewhere. That they had
 “ first in the first place they found uncultivated
 “ and uninhabited, where they had begun to build
 “ themselves houses, which manifested that they
 “ neither came with design to hurt any body, nor
 “ to usurp either cities or countries from other
 “ States. That this was their situation, when
 “ Marcellus summoned them to surrender, or to
 “ prepare for war. That as to them, preferring
 “ a certain peace, though little honourable to the
 “ war

“ war with which they were menaced, they had at
 “ firft more really relied on the faith of the Roman
 “ People, than fubmitted to their power. That
 “ fome few days after they had been ordered to a-
 “ bandon their city and lands; and that at the time
 “ they meditated retiring without noife, and to go
 “ in queft of an abode into fome other country
 “ where they might be fuffered to ftay, all their
 “ arms and the other effects, which they could
 “ either carry off or drive before them, had been
 “ taken away. That they defired the Senate and
 “ People of Rome not to treat them, who had
 “ furrendered without committing any hoftility,
 “ with more rigour than enemies conquered by
 “ the force of arms.”

The Senate replied, “ That, though they were
 “ in the wrong to enter Italy, and to build a city
 “ in a country, which did not belong to them,
 “ without the permission of the Roman magi-
 “ ftrates who commanded in the province, how-
 “ ever they did not approve of the rigor with
 “ which a People who had furrendered, had been
 “ ufed. That therefore they would fend Am-
 “ baffadors with them to the Conful, to order
 “ him to reftore all that had been taken from
 “ them, on condition that they would return into
 “ their country. That the fame Ambaffadors
 “ fhould pafs the Alps, to declare to the chiefs of
 “ the States who inhabit on the other fide, that
 “ they fhould keep their fubjects in their own
 “ country. That the mountains which feparated
 “ them were the bounds nature itfelf feemed to
 “ have placed with defign, and rendered almoft
 “ impracticable, in order to divide the two re-
 “ gions; and that thofe who fhould endeavour
 “ to pafs them for the future, fhould repent it.”

A. R. 569.
 Ant. C. 183.

The States, who inhabited the other side of the Alps, gave the Ambassadors a very courteous and rational answer. “ Their elders even complained
 “ of the too great lenity, with which the Roman
 “ People had treated a body of men, who hav-
 “ ing quitted their country without order of the
 “ nation, had undertaken to build a city in a
 “ foreign one, without permission from those
 “ to whom it belonged. That their temerity de-
 “ served to be punished severely, to make others
 “ not desirous of doing the same.” After this discourse, they made the Romans presents, and attended them out of honour to the frontiers of their country.

New co-
 lony.

Marcellus having thus driven the strangers out of the province, with the permission of the Senate went to Istria. All he did there was to found a colony of Latins at Aquileia. Two of Romans were also settled, the one at Modena (*Mutina*) and the other at Parma: and lastly, one of Romans also at Saturnia, in the territory called *Calestranus ager*.

A. R. 570.
 Ant. C. 182.

CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Different
 reports up-
 on the re-
 turn of
 Demetrius
 in Macedo-
 nia.

Liv xaxix.
 53.

Paulus Æmilius did not attain the Consulship, till after having suffered several repulses, which frequently happen to the most deserving persons. These repulses were probably an effect of his cool, grave, serious character, which did not know how to make submissions, and assume insinuating manners for caressing and soothing the People.

We have observed before, that Demetrius the son of Philip was returned from Rome into Macedonia. That Prince's return had different effects there according to the different disposition of people. Those, who were extremely apprehensive of

of the consequences of the rupture with the Ro-^{A. R. 570.}
mans, and of the war for which preparations were^{Ant. C. 182.}
making, looked with a good eye upon Deme-
trius, in hopes he would prove a reconciler and
author of peace. Besides which they considered
him as the person who was to ascend the throne
after his father's death. For, though he was the
youngest brother, he had the advantage over Per-
seus of being indisputably legitimate, whereas Per-
seus, though owned as such by Philip, passed either
for the son of a concubine, or even as supposititious.
Neither was it doubted but that the Romans would
place Demetrius upon his father's throne, Perseus
not having any credit with them. These were
the common reports.

Accordingly Perseus on one side was highly *He gives*
anxious, lest the advantage of seniority should *his brother*
prove but a weak title for him, his brother having *great dis-*
all other advantages; and on the other, Philip *quiet, and*
rightly judging, that he should not have it in his *makes even*
power to dispose of the throne according to his own *his father*
will, looked with a jealous eye upon, and dreaded *very jea-*
the too great credit of his younger son. He also *lous of him.*
saw with pain a kind of second court formed, even
during his life and before his eyes, by the afflu-
ence and numbers of the Macedonians, who flock-
ed to the house of Demetrius. It must be owned,
that the young Prince himself was not sufficiently
attentive to prevent or remedy the malignity of
people. Instead of endeavouring to disarm envy
by kind, modest, and polite behaviour; he only
provoked and exasperated it by a certain air of
haughtiness, which he had brought with him from
Rome; piquing himself upon the marks of di-
stinction he had received there, and openly de-
claring that the Senate had granted him many
things, which it had before refused his father.
We see here what vanity and blind complacency
for

A. R. 53 for one's own merit. whether true or false, pro-
A. A. C. 121 duces. This is a failing common enough in young
 Lords and Princes, and which renders their best
 qualities useless, and often even pernicious.

Philip's discontent increased still more upon the
 arrival of the new Ambassadors, to whom Deme-
 trias almost paid his court more regularly than to
 his father himself; especially when he saw himself
 obliged to abandon Thrace, to draw off his gar-
 risons from it, and to undergo other mortifications
 conformably to the decrees of the first commissio-
 ners, or in effect of new orders arrived from
 Rome. He did not obey without repugnance,
 and inward rage; but however he obeyed, to a-
 void drawing a war upon his hands, for which he
 was not yet sufficiently prepared. At the same time
 to remove all suspicion that he had such thoughts,
 he carried his arms into the heart of Thrace
 against people, for whose interests the Romans had
 no kind of concern.

But his real dispositions were not unknown at
 Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who
 had signified the Senate's orders to Philip, wrote
 that all the discourse and measures taken by the
A. R. 53 King indicated an approaching war. The better
A. A. C. 121 to assure himself of the maritime cities, he made
 all the inhabitants and their families quit them,
 transplanted them into the most northern part of
 Macedonia, and placed Thracians and other bar-
 barous nations in them, upon whom he believed
 he could more rely. The whole country rung
 with complaints, groans, and curses against Philip.
 He only became more furious in the effect, and
 exercised unheard-of cruelties against his people.
 The reader may see a description of them in the
 VIIIth volume of the Ancient History, and par-
 ticularly the deplorable state of an whole illustrious
 family reduced to despair.

The

The horror of that tragical event excited new A. R. 570.
detestation of Philip. He was publickly abhor- Ant. C. 182.
red as a cruel tyrant, and horrid imprecations were
every where vented against him and his children,
(a) which soon had their effect, says Livy, the
gods giving him up to a blind fury, which carried
him to the greatest extremes against his own
blood.

Perseus saw with infinite pain and grief, that A. R. 571.
the regard for his brother Demetrius in Macedo- Ant. C. 181.
nia, and his credit with the Romans, increased Philip up-
every day. We have in the Antient History re-formation
lated the secret plot of that wicked Prince against of false
Demetrius, to secure the throne to himself in pre-witnesses
judice of him: the accusation which was brought suborned by
against him before Philip: the pleadings of both Perseus,
the brothers: the sentence of death passed by the puts Dime-
King upon Demetrius in effect of the depositions trius to
of witnesses suborned by Perseus, which he caused death.
to be executed in private by giving him poison. Liv. xl.
5—15.

Two years passed, without any thing of the He dies of
plot formed by Perseus against his brother being grief him-
discovered. Philip however felt the most excel- self. Per-
sive grief and remorse, incessantly lamented the seus suc-
death of his son, and reproached himself with his ceds him.
own cruelty. The surviving son, who considered Liv. xl.
himself already as King, and to whom the cour- 54—56.
tiers began to pay homage as to one who was soon
to be their master, gave him no less anguish. He
was highly enraged to see his age despised, some
expecting his death with impatience, and others not
so much as waiting till it arrived. The entire
discovery of the plot formed against Demetrius,
raised his grief to the highest excess. Tormented
with the continual want of sleep, he imagined that

(a) Quæ diræ brevi ab omnibus diis exauditæ, ut sæviret
ipse in suum sanguinem, effecerunt. Liv.

A. R. 570. he saw the ghost of his son Demetrius almost every
 Ant. C. 182. night, which reproached him with his death, and
 uttered curses against him. He took measures to
 prevent Perseus from enjoying the fruits of his
 crime, as well as impunity. But he wanted time.
 He expired, lamenting one of his sons, and
 cursing the other, after having reigned forty-two
 years. Perseus ascended the throne.

I resume the thread of the history, from which
 I departed, in order to put what I had to say con-
 cerning Philip all together

Nothing considerable passed during the 570th
 year of Rome, neither in Liguria, which was
 the province of the two Consuls, nor in either of
 the Spains.

*Dispute
 between
 the Car-
 thaginians
 and Ma-
 sinissa.
 Liv. xl.
 17.*

The most remarkable event of this year was a
 judgment passed by the Roman commissioners be-
 tween the Carthaginian People and King Masi-
 nissa. The question was concerning the possession
 of a territory of which Gala, Masinissa's father,
 had deprived the Carthaginians. Syphax had af-
 terwards driven Gala out of it, and restored it
 to the Carthaginians in consideration of Asiru-
 bal his father-in-law. And lastly, the current
 year, Masinissa had retaken it from the Carthagi-
 nians. The affair was debated by the two par-
 ties, before the commissioners of Rome sent to A-
 frica, with no less heat than it had been before dis-
 puted sword in hand. “ The Carthaginians
 “ thought they had a good right to reclaim a
 “ territory which had first belonged to their an-
 “ cestors, and which Syphax had restored to
 “ them. This was a double title to them, on
 “ which they much insisted. Masinissa, on his
 “ side, affirmed, that he had retaken a district,
 “ which had been part of his father's dominions,
 “ and which belonged to him by right of succes-
 “ sion, and even by that of conquest: that be-
 “ sides

“ sides the goodness of his cause, he actually had ^{A. R. 57c.}
 “ it in possession.” The deputies left it so with- ^{Ant. C. 182.}
 out passing a final judgment, which they referred
 to the Senate.

P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

A. R. 571.

M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Ant. C. 181.

As soon as L. Æmilius Paulus, to whom, after ^{Successful}
 his Consulship, the command in Liguria had been ^{expedition}
 continued, saw the spring return, he made his ^{against the}
 army march into the country of the Ligurians In- ^{Ligurians.}
 gauni. The enemy seeing him incamped upon ^{Liv xi.}
 their lands, sent Ambassadors to him, in appear- ^{25—28.}
 ance to ask peace, but in reality to view his force,
 and the situation of his camp. Æmilius having
 refused to hearken to any accommodation, till they
 had previously surrendered, they seemed inclined
 to submit, but at the same time demanded time
 to make a nation enter into the same disposition,
 which, said they, is intractable and barbarous.
 The Consul gave them a truce for ten days, to
 which they desired him to add another favour:
 this was, not to send his soldiers to fetch wood
 and forage beyond the neighbouring mountains,
 because that was the only cultivated part of their
 country. As soon as they had obtained this point,
 they drew together all their troops behind those
 mountains, from which they had had the address
 to remove the enemy. When they were in a con-
 dition to act, they came with an infinite multitude
 of troops to attack the Proconsul's camp, who
 expected nothing less, and at the same time as-
 faulted it at all the gates. They continued this
 assault the whole day with so much vigour, that
 they did not leave the Romans either the means
 for making their troops quit the camp, or the
 ground necessary for drawing up. All that the
 Romans

A. R. 571. Romans could do, was to croud about the gates.
 Ant. C. 181. where they stoppt the enemy, less by fighting, than by closing them with their bodies.

After sun-set, when the enemy were retired, Æmilius sent two of the horse to Pisæ with letters to the Consul Cn. Bæbius, by which he desired him to come and extricate him out of a danger into which the enemy had brought him, by a fraudulent surprize under the pretext of a truce. Bæbius had unfortunately sent his troops elsewhere. All that he could do was to write to the Senate, to inform them of Æmilius's danger. The Ligurians returned to the charge the next day. The Proconsul might have removed before their return, and quitted his lines: but he believed it better to keep his soldiers within his intrenchments, and gain time, till troops might arrive from Pisæ to his assistance.

Bæbius's letter occasioned great consternation in the city, and the more, because it did not seem possible for any aid to arrive in time. However, the Consuls were made to set out. Æmilius not hearing any thing from Bæbius, believed that his horsemen had been seized, and resolved to rely only upon himself. The enemy's assaults were much less vigorous than the first day's. They did not take arms, till after having filled themselves with meat and wine. On quitting their intrenchments, they dispersed without keeping their ranks, assuring themselves that the Romans would not venture to advance out of their camp to meet them. They came on in this manner, when the Romans, whom Æmilius had drawn up in battle, and had exhorted in the strongest terms to do their duty well, seconded by the cries of all those who remained in the camp, soldiers, servants, sutlers, sallied through all their gates, and charged the Ligurians. The latter, as much terrified by this unex-

unexpected attack as if they had fallen into some A. R. ---
Ant. C. 181. ambushade, were at first amazed, and having sustained the fury of the enemy for some time, they fled with some precipitation. Æmilius ordered his horse to pursue them, and to give no quarter to such as should fall in their way. This was not a flight, but a total defeat, and the slaughter was horrible. In their disorder they took refuge in their camp, which they soon surrendered to the victors. More than fifteen thousand men were killed that day, and about two thousand five hundred taken prisoners. Three days after the whole nation of the Ligurians Ingauni surrendered to the Proconsul, and gave him hostages. The Ligurians also practised piracy. C. Matienus at the same time took two and thirty ships from them.

Æmilius sent this news to Rome, and to demand permission to quit a province, where nothing farther remained for him to do, to march back his troops with him, and to dismiss them. He obtained all that he asked of the Senate, who besides, on his account, decreed feasts and thanksgivings for three days in all the temples.

The Romans gained also a very considerable Congress advantage in Hispania Citerior. Q. Fulvius, who the defeat commanded there in quality of Prætor, gave the of the Celtiberians battle, near the city of Ebora. He Celtiberians. acted in it with no less valour than good conduct. Liv. xl. The enemies left three and twenty thousand upon 31-33. the field of battle: and four thousand eight hundred were taken prisoners. Above five hundred horses were also taken, with fourscore and eighteen ensigns. This victory was followed with the taking of Contrebia, and a new defeat of the enemy, who again lost twelve thousand men, four hundred horse, with sixty-two ensigns. The number of the prisoners amounted to above five thousand.

This

A. R. 571.
Ant. C. 181.
Numa's

tomb found
in the

earth.
Liv. xl.

29.

First gilt
statue at
Rome.

The Ligu-
rians ask
peace.

Liv. xl.

34.

This year the tomb of Numa Pompilius with his books were found in digging up the ground: They have been spoken of elsewhere.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, in dedicating the temple of Piety, caused the first gilt statue which had been seen in Italy to be erected in honour of his father Glabrio.

The Proconsul L. Æmilius Paulus triumphed over the Ligurians Ingauni. What contributed to render this triumph more famous, for neither gold nor silver were carried in it, was an embassy, which the Ligurians had sent to Rome, to demand peace for all futurity, and to assure the Senate that the Ligurians were fully determined never more to take arms, if not by the order and for the service of the Romans. The Prætor Q. Fabius answered them in the name of the Senate: "That
" this language of the Ligurians was not new;
" but that it concerned them most to think and
" act in a new manner, and conformably to
" their promises. That they should go to the
" Consuls, and punctually execute what they should
" be directed. That those magistrates were the
" only persons, to whom the Senate would re-
" fer themselves in respect to the sincerity of the
" intentions of the Ligurians."

Hostages
restored to
the Car-
thagini-
ans.

The Roman People this year restored an hundred of their hostages to the Carthaginians; and not only contented with leaving them in peace themselves, they procured it for them from Masinissa, who with his troops occupied the district in dispute between him and the Carthaginians.

A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS LUSCUS.

A. R. 572.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Ant.C. 180.

The death of the latter of these two Consuls ^{The Ligu-} delayed the departure of the troops for some time. ^{rians Apu-} However, P. Cornelius and M. Bæbius, who had ^{ani are} done nothing memorable in their Consulship, ^{trans-} marched their army into the country of the Li- ^{planted in-} gurians Apuani. Those people, who did not ^{to Sam-} expect that they should be attacked before the ar- ^{nium.} rival of the new Consuls, surrendered to the num- ^{Liv. xl.} ber of twelve thousand. The two Proconsuls, af- ^{38—40.} ter having wrote to the Senate for advice, resolved to remove them from the mountains into the plains, and to such a distance from their country, that they should lose all hopes of ever returning to it again. They were convinced that was the only means for terminating the war on that side. They therefore commanded the Ligurians Apuani to quit the mountains which they occupied, with their wives, children, and all their effects, in order to be transplanted into Samnium. The Ligurians first sent deputies to the Roman Generals, to conjure them not to compel them to abandon the country, which had given them birth, their household gods, and the tombs of their ancestors; offering for the rest to deliver up their arms, and to give hostages. But finding the Proconsuls inexorable, and knowing that they were not strong enough to sustain the war, they determined to obey. They were therefore made to remove at the expence of the Commonwealth to the place allotted them, to the number of forty thousand men, with their wives and children. A sufficiently considerable sum was given them to purchase the things they should have occasion for in their

A. R. 572. new settlement. The two Proconsuls were charged
 Ant. C. 180. with the distribution of the new land; and of all relating to it. When the whole was terminated, they led back the army under their command to Rome, and obtained the honour of a triumph. They were the first Generals, who triumphed without having made war.

The Celtiberians are defeated by Fulvius in ambuscades laid for him by themselves.
 Liv. xl. 39. The same year, the Celtiberians knowing, that the Proprætor Fulvius Flaccus was to pass through a certain defile, they laid ambuscades for him; and as soon as the Romans were in them, they charged them suddenly at the same time on two sides. Flaccus, having ordered the soldiers to halt, made them lay down their baggage in an heap, and without shewing any fear or perplexity, drew up his troops in battle, representing to the soldiers, “ that they had to deal with an enemy, “ whom they had already twice forced to sur- “ render. That what they had now more than “ formerly, was not force or courage, but guilt “ and perfidy. That they should be obliged to “ them for a glorious and illustrious return into “ their country; whereas they were preparing “ to go home only with the fame of their past “ exploits. That on arriving at Rome they would “ carry thither their swords almost still smoking “ with blood newly shed, and adorn their triumph “ with spoils almost reeking with blood.”

He said no more. The enemies fell upon the Romans, and the fight, which was already begun at both extremities, soon extended throughout the whole army. They fought every where with equal animosity. But the Spaniards soon finding that they could not withstand the Roman legions by fighting in front, endeavoured to break them, by attacking them in a point or wedge. This was a kind of charge in which they had so much the
 advan-

advantage, that wherever they attacked, it was impossible to sustain them. In consequence they put the legions into some disorder, and had almost broke the main body. But Flaccus, spurring on to the cavalry of the legions, said to them: “ If you do not stop the enemy, our infantry will soon be routed. Double your ranks by uniting the horse of the two legions; and in order to charge the enemy with more force, unbridle your horses, and ride on full speed. This singular practice was common with the Romans. They immediately executed what was commanded, fell upon the Spaniards, broke all their lances, repulsed them a great way, and made a great slaughter of them. The cavalry of the allies, after the example of the Roman horse, also charged this half defeated body, and compleated their overthrow. As this body was the sole hope of the enemy, the defeat of it drew on that of the whole army. The slaughter was great. Seventeen thousand Celtiberians remained upon the place: more than three thousand were taken, with two hundred and seventy seven ensigns, and almost eleven hundred horse. This victory cost Fulvius dear. He lost four hundred and seventy-two Roman citizens, a thousand and nineteen allies of the Latin name, and three thousand Spanish auxiliary troops. The Romans after this advantage, which was an high addition of glory to them, returned to Tarraco.

The Prætor Ti. Sempronius, who arrived there two days before, came to meet Fulvius, and congratulated him on the great advantages he had gained over the enemies of the Commonwealth. Those two Generals easily agreed upon the troops which should be dismissed, and those which should remain in the province. After they had regulated every thing with perfect amity, Fulvius embarked

*Fulvius
returns to
Rome,
with great
glory.*

A. R. 572. the soldiers, who were dismissed, and Sempronius
Ant. C. 180. marched his troops into Celtiberia.

Expeditions of the Consuls into Liguria.

Liv. xl.
41.

The two Consuls had Liguria for their province. They led their legions thither by different routes. Postumius with the first and third, seized the mountains of Balista and Suismont, and by shutting up the narrow passes, through which the enemy received their provisions, he starved them, and by the want of all necessaries to life, reduced them to the necessity of submitting. Fulvius, who had been substituted to Calpurnius with the second and fourth, having attacked the Apuani, who inhabited upon the banks of the river Macra, on the side of Pisæ, he reduced them to surrender, and having embarked to the number of seven thousand, he transported them to Naples along the Coast of Tuscany. From thence he made them go to Samnium, and incorporated them with their countrymen, giving them also some lands to cultivate. As to the Ligurians who inhabited the mountains, Postumius caused their vines to be pulled up, their corn to be burnt, and by dint of making them suffer all the calamities of war, he reduced them to surrender, and to deliver up their arms.

Complaints against Gentius King of Illyricum.
Liv. xl.
42.

This same year, L. Duronius, Prætor the year before, who had been appointed to check the piracies committed by the Illyrians upon the coasts of Italy, returned to Rome. After having related in the Senate what he had done in his province, he affirmed, “ that King Gentius was the author of
“ all the robberies committed upon the sea. That
“ all the ships which had plundered the coasts of
“ the sea called *Mare Superum* belonged to him.
“ That he had sent Ambassadors to that Prince to
“ complain of those hostilities, but that they could
“ not gain admittance to him.” On the other side, Gentius had sent to Rome, to represent to the

the Senate, “ that exactly at the time the Roman A. R. 572.
Ant. C. 180.
“ Ambassadors came to his court, to make their
“ remonstrances, he was at the extremity of his
“ kingdom dangerously ill. That he had desired
“ the Senate not to give credit to the false accusa-
“ tions, which his enemies had conceived to do
“ him hurt.” However, Duronius added to
what he had said, that many Roman citizens and
allies of the Latin name, had been insulted and
abused in his dominions; that it was even said,
that he had many Roman citizens prisoners in
Corcyra. The Senate decreed, that they should
all be brought to Rome, and that the Prætor C.
Claudius should take cognizance of this affair, be-
fore an answer should be returned to Gentius and
his Ambassadors.

C. Mænius Prætor of Sardinia, to whom com- Great
mission had been given to inform against the poi- number of
soners in Italy, at the distance of ten miles from prisoners
Rome, informed the Senate, that he had already condemned.
condemned three thousand persons convicted of Ibid. 43.
that crime: but that the number of the guilty in-
creased in proportion to his enquiries.

The people of Cumæ, who were Greeks by
origin, were granted permission to use the La-
tin tongue in their public Acts, and to cry the
merchandizes to be sold by auction in the same
language.

At the same time, Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned Fulvius
from Spain to Rome full of glory, and whilst he triumphs
lodged out of Rome waiting the day of his tri- over the
umph, he was created Consul with L. * Manlius Celtiberi-
Acidinus his brother. This is the only example of ans, and
two brothers being colleagues in the Consulship, is elected
as Velleius Paterculus II. 8. observes. Some few Consul.
days after he triumphed over the Celtiberians.

* This Manlius was the own brother of Fulvius, but had been
adopted into the family of the Manlii.

A. R. 572.
Ant. C. 180.
First law
Annalis.
Liv. xl.
44.

L Villius Tribune of the People then passed the first law which determined the necessary age for entering into each magistracy: which occasioned Villius to be surnamed *Annales*. We have already observed elsewhere, that the age required for the Quæstorship, was twenty-seven; for the Curule Ædileship thirty-seven; for the Prætorship forty; for the Consulship forty-three. The custom was usually the same before: this law only confirmed and established it.

A. R. 573.
Ant. C. 179.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

Games celebrated by the Consul Fulvius.

The Consul Fulvius, in his last battle with the Celtiberians, had engaged by vow to celebrate games in honour of Jupiter, and cause a temple to be built to Equestrian Fortune. The games were celebrated during ten days with great magnificence.

Reconciliation of the two Censors who had long been declared enemies.
Liv. xl.
45, 46, &
51, 52.

The assemblies were afterwards held for the election of Censors. The People's choice fell upon M. Æmilius Lepidus, who a little before had been raised to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, and upon M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians. There was a mutual enmity between them, which had broke out in violent contests both in the Senate and before the People. The new Censors at this time being come, according to custom, to take their places upon the Curule chairs in the field of Mars, near the altar of that god, the most considerable of the Senators followed them thither with a great multitude of citizens, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus spoke to them in these terms:

We well know, Censors, that the Roman People have just made you the arbiters and judges of our conduct; and that in this capacity, it is we who
are

are to receive your opinions and remonstrances, and not you ours. Permit us however to observe what gives offence in you to all persons of worth, or at least what they are desirous that you should amend. When we consider each of you separately, Æmilius, and you Fulvius, we do not know any persons in Rome that we would prefer to you, if we were to give our suffrages again. But when we see you both together, we cannot help apprehending, that you are very ill joined, and having grudges at heart against each other, it is of no consequence that you have the esteem and affection of all the rest of the citizens. You have been at variance a great while, which cannot but sit heavy upon you. But it is much to be feared, that, from this day, it will become infinitely more so to us and the Commonwealth, than it is to you. We could repeat many reasons, which would justify our apprehension, if it were not doing you a kind of injury, to consider your dissention and hatred as irreconcilable. We all both in general and particular conjure you this day to put an end to your enmity in this sacred and venerable place. After the Roman People have united you with each other by associating you in the same office, give us the joy of being able to flatter ourselves, that on our side we have also reunited you by a sincere and perfect reconciliation. You have the list of the Senators to settle, the review of the Knights to make, the number and census of the citizens to adjust, and to close the lustrum. In these functions, and in almost all those of your charge, you use this form; MAY THE GODS GRANT, THAT THE AFFAIR, WHICH WE ARE NOW EMPLOYED UPON, MAY TURN TO THE ADVANTAGE AND GLORY OF MY COLLEAGUE AND MYSELF. Act therefore in all things so unanimously, that the public may be convinced, that you observe these solemn vows in your hearts as well as mouths, and that you sincerely desire the accomplishment of the prayers which you are to address to the

A. R. 573. gods. *Romulus and T. Tatius, after having fought*
 Ant. C. 175. *sword in hand in the midst of Rome, reigned after-*
wards in the same city in peace and union. Not only
private dissensions, but wars themselves, are termi-
nated by pacific agreements, and we have often seen
States, from enemies that they were, become faithful
allies, and sometimes fellow-citizens of the same coun-
try. The Albans, after the ruin of their city, re-
moved to Rome, and were incorporated with its in-
habitants. The Latines and Sabines, have been as-
sociated with the Roman People. This maxim,
 FRIENDSHIPS OUGHT TO BE IMMORTAL, AND EN-
 MITIES MORTAL, *became a proverb, only because*
its truth made impression upon every mind.

A murmur of applause interrupted the discourse of Metellus, and all that were present joined their request with his, and earnestly exhorted the Censors to consent to a reconciliation. After some complaints on both sides, each of them declared for his own part, that if his colleague would consent to it, that they would comply with the desire of so many illustrious citizens. Upon the repeated instances of all present, they tenderly embraced each other, and protested that they would entirely forget all that was past, and renounce all resentment. The joy was general, and rose even to shedding of tears. The assembly seemed incapable of sufficiently praising and admiring them, and followed them in a body to the Capitol, whither they repaired that moment. The Senate highly approved both the care, which the principal persons of the city had taken to reconcile the two Censors, and the facility of those magistrates in complying with their desires. It appeared from the manner in which they behaved during their whole administration, that their reconciliation was hearty and sincere. M. Æmilius Lepidus, one of the two Censors, was nominated Prince of the Senate

Senate by his colleague. They executed many public works and buildings, both very useful and very considerable. A. R. 573.
Ant. C. 179.

Examples of this kind are of great importance in a State, and produce wonderful effects upon a people, even down to succeeding ages. It gives me joy to see Cicero, long after, cite the fact of which we have just been speaking in justification of his conduct in respect to Cæsar, with whom he believed it incumbent on him to renew the friendship they had long before contracted with each other, and had been often interrupted. “ If, says
“ he, I sacrifice my resentment to the Common-
“ wealth, who can take offence at me for it, es-
“ pecially, as I pique myself upon directing my
“ conduct by that of the great men of antiquity?
“ Does not history tell us, that M. Lepidus, who
“ was twice Consul and Great Pontiff, on the
“ very day he was elected Censor, was recon-
“ ciled in the field of Mars to M. Fulvius his
“ colleague, who till then had been his declared
“ enemy, in order unanimously to discharge the
“ functions of an office common to them both?
“ And does not the same history also inform us,
“ as well as the verses of a great * poet, that this
“ action was generally applauded by all orders of
“ the State? — (a) You know, fathers, that I
“ have always been actuated by an incredible zeal
“ for the Commonwealth. It is the same zeal
“ which this day reunites, reconciles, and rein-
“ states me with C. Cæsar. Let what will be

* *Ennius evidently.*

(a) Ardeo, mihi credite,
Patres Conscripti——incredi-
bili quodam amore patriæ —
Hic me meus in rempublicam
animus pristinus ac perennis

cum C. Cæsare reducit, recon-
ciliat, restituit in gratiam:
Quod volent denique homines
existiment; nemini ego pos-
sum esse bene de republica me-
renti non amicus.

“ judged

A. R. 573. “judged of it; but I cannot help being the
 Ant. C. 179. “friend of whoever renders the Commonwealth
 “service.”

S E C T. V.

*Characters of, and comparison between, Hannibal
 and Scipio Africanus.*

HANNIBAL and Scipio have acted glorious parts in the Roman History, and both deserving to be studied attentively and thoroughly known, I thought it proper to give what I have said * elsewhere a place here, and to unite the great qualities common to both, and the differences between them in the same point of view. I imagine, in thus comparing their characters, that I in a manner again bring them into the field together: but I shall leave it to the reader to give the preference, and adjudge the victory to which of the two heroes he shall think most deserving. I however do not undertake to make an exact comparison between them, but only to trace the principal points of it. I shall examine in this parallel the military, moral and civil virtues; which form the great Captain and Worthy Man.

S E C T. I.

MILITARY VIRTUES.

1. *Extent of capacity to form and execute great designs.*

I Begin by this quality, because, properly speaking, it is that, which forms great men, and has the greatest share in the success of affairs: this

* *In the Belles Lettres.*

Polybius calls, *σὺν νῶι πρᾶτ' εἶν τὸ ποτεθεῖν*. It consists in having great views; in forming plans at a distance; in proposing an end and design from which the author never departs; in taking all the measures, and preparing all the means, that are necessary for its success; in knowing how to seize the favourable moments of occasion, which are rapid in their course, and never return; to make even sudden and unforeseen accidents subservient to a plan; in a word, to foresee and be upon the watch against every thing, without being perplexed or disconcerted by any event. For, as the same Polybius observes, the concurrence of all the most wisely concerted and executed measures is scarce sufficient to make a design succeed; whereas the omission of only one, how slight soever it may appear, often suffices to render it abortive. Pag. 552.

Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio. Both form a design great, bold, singular, of vast extent, long consequences, and capable of exercising the greatest heads, but the only one salutary and decisive.

Hannibal, from the beginning of the war, rightly conceived that the only means of conquering the Romans, was to attack them in their own country. He prepared every thing beforehand for this great design. He foresaw all the difficulties and obstacles. The passing of the Alps did not stop him. So wise a Captain, as Polybius observes, would not have undertaken it, if he had not been previously assured, that those mountains were not impracticable. The success answered his views. Every body knows the rapidity of his victories, and that Rome saw herself upon the very brink of destruction. Pag. 201, 202.

Scipio formed a design which scarce appeared less bold, but which was more successful: this was to attack Africa itself. What obstacles seemed to oppose

oppose this design! Was it not natural, one would say, to defend his own country, before attacking that of the enemy, and to secure peace in Italy, before carrying the war into Africa? What resource had the Commonwealth, if victorious Hannibal had marched against Rome? Would it then have been time enough to recal the Consul to its aid? What would become of Scipio and his army, if he had happened to lose a battle? and what was not to be feared from the Carthaginians and their allies in conjunction, and fighting for their lives and liberties in the sight of their wives, children, and country? These were the reflexions of Fabius, which seemed very plausible, but which did not stop Scipio; and the success of the enterprize sufficiently shewed with what wisdom it had been conceived, and with what ability it had been conducted; and it is obvious that in the actions of that great man, nothing was the effect of chance, but that every thing was the result of solid reason and consummate prudence, which indicates the General, whereas mere execution is only the soldier's part.

2. *Profound secrecy.*

One of the most necessary means for making a design succeed is secrecy, and Polybius is for having a General so impenetrable in this point, that not only friendship, nor the most intimate familiarity should ever wrest from him a single indiscreet word, but that it even should not be possible for the most subtle curiosity to discover any thing either in his looks, or air, of what he has in his thoughts.

The siege of Carthagera was the first enterprize of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the first step to all his other conquests. He communicated it only to Lælius, and confided in him, only because
cause

cause it was absolutely necessary. It could also be only in effect of silence, and the most profound secrecy, that another still more important enterprize succeeded, which drew on the conquest of Africa, when Scipio burnt the two camps, and cut to pieces the two armies of the enemy in the night.

Hannibal's frequent successes in laying ambuscades for the Romans, and in destroying so many Generals in them with their best troops; in stealing his marches, and surprizing them by unforeseen attacks; in moving from one part of Italy to the other, without meeting any obstacles from the enemy, are proofs of the profound secrecy, with which he concerted and executed all his designs. Artifice, illusion, and stratagem, were his peculiar talents; all which would have been ineffectual without impenetrable secrecy.

3. Well to know the characters of the leaders against whom a General acts.

Well to know the character of the Generals who command the enemy's army, and to know how to take advantage of their failings, is great ability, and an highly important part of military knowledge. For, says Polybius, it is the ignorance or neglect of commanders, that renders most enterprizes abortive. Hannibal was a perfect master of this science; and it may be said that his continual attention in studying the genius of the Roman Generals, was one of the principal causes of his gaining the battles of Trebia and Thrasymenus. He (a) knew as well what passed

(a) Omnia ei hostium haud Nec quicquam eorum quæ
secus, quàm sua, nota erant. apud hostes agebantur, eum
Liv. xxii. 41. fallebat. *Ibid.* 28.

in the enemy's camp as in his own. When P. Æmilius and Varro were sent against him; he was soon informed of the different characters of those Generals, and of their divisions: *dissimiles discordesque imperitare*; and he did not fail to take advantage of the hot and impetuous disposition of Varro, in laying a bait for his temerity, by some slight advantages which he let him gain, that were followed with the famous dreadful defeat at Cannæ.

Liv. xxx.
3. What Scipio learnt of the little discipline which the Generals of the enemy caused to be observed in their camps, made him conceive the thought of setting fire to them in the night: an enterprize, of which the success acquired him the conquest of Africa. *Hæc relata Scipioni spem fecerant, castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.*

4. *To keep up an exact discipline amongst the troops.*

Military discipline is in a manner the soul of the army, which binds and unites all its parts together, sets them in motion, or keeps them at rest, according to occasion, assigns and distributes to each its functions, and obliges them all to observe their duty.

Liv.
xxviii.
12. It is agreed that our two Generals excelled in this part: but it must be allowed that in this kind of merit that of Hannibal must seem much superior to that of Scipio. And accordingly it has been always considered as the greatest address, the master-piece of military ability, that Hannibal, during a war of sixteen years in a foreign country so far from his own, with such various success, at the head of an army consisting, not of Carthaginian citizens, but of confused mixture of many nations, who had nothing common to them, neither customs, nor language; whose habits, arms,

cere-

ceremonies, sacrifices, and even gods were different: that Hannibal, I say, so united them, that no sedition ever rose either between them or against him, though they were often in want of provisions, and their pay had been often delayed. In order to this, how solidly must the discipline have been established, and how inviolably observed amongst the troops!

5. *To live in a simple, modest, frugal and laborious manner.*

It is a very bad taste, and argues little elevation of mind, and nobleness of soul, to make the greatness of an officer or General consist in the magnificence of equipages, moveables, dress or table. How have such frivolous things been capable of becoming military virtues? What do they suppose, except great riches; and are those riches always undoubtedly proofs of solid merit, and the fruits of virtue? It is the disgrace of reason and good sense; it is the degradation of so martial a people as ours to descend to the manners and customs of the Persians, by introducing the luxury of cities into camps and armies. Does not an officer, a commander, know better how to employ the time, attention, and expences necessarily bestowed upon all this superfluity; and does he not owe them to his country? The Captains of the Antients thought and acted quite differently.

Livy gives Hannibal a praise, which we have already repeated, and at which I do not know but many of our officers should believe they ought to blush. “No labour, says he, could tire his body,
“or depress his mind. He bore cold and heat
“with equal indifference. It was necessity and
“occasion, not pleasure, that regulated his eating
“and drinking. He had no set hour for sleep-
“ing:

“ ing: he gave the time his affairs left him to re-
 “ pose, and did not court it by silence and the
 “ softness of his bed. He was often found lying
 “ upon the ground in a soldier’s vest amongst the
 “ sentinels and guards of his army. He distin-
 “ guished himself from his equals, not by the
 “ magnificence of his habit, but the goodness of
 “ his horses and arms.”

Polybius, after having praised Scipio for the shining virtues the world admired in him, his liberality, magnificence, greatness of soul; adds, that those who knew him most intimately admired (a) no less the sober and frugal life that he led, which enabled him to bestow his whole application on the public affairs. He gave himself little trouble in adorning his person. His dress was manly and military, well suiting his stature, which was large and majestic. *Præterquam quòd*
 Senec. Ep. lxxxvi. *suapte natura multa majestas inerat, adornabat promissa cæsaries habitusque corporis, non cultus munditiis, sed virilis verè ac militaris.* What Seneca tells us of the simplicity of his baths, and of his country-house, gives us room to judge what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops.

It is by leading such a sober and frugal kind of life, that Generals are capable of discharging that part of their duty, which Cambyfes recommends so much to his son Cyrus, as extremely proper for animating the troops, and to make them love their leaders; which is to set the soldiers the example of labour, by sustaining with them, and even more than them, cold, heat, and fatigues: wherein, (b) says he, the difference will always be

Xenoph.
in Cyrop.
lib. i.

(a) Ἀρχὴν καὶ ῥῆσιν καὶ ἐν
 διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ ποτεῖν ἐν ἑα-
 μένῃ. Polyb. pag. 577.

(b) Itaque semper Africa-
 nus (meaning the second of that
 name) Socraticum, Xeno-
 phontem

be very great between the General and the soldier, because the latter finds only labour and toil in it; whereas the other, exposed as a sight to the eyes of the whole army, has honour and glory from it; motives which much lessen the weight of fatigue, and render it less painful.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to wise and moderate pleasure. (a) Livy, in speaking of Philip's honourable reception of him, when he passed through his dominions with his brother against Antiochus, observes that Scipio was highly pleased with it, and that he admired in the King of Macedonia the wit, politeness and graces with which he knew how to season the entertainments he gave them; qualities, adds Livy, which the illustrious Roman, so great in all other respects, deemed estimable, provided they did not degenerate into pomp and luxury.

6. *Equally to know how to employ force and stratagem.*

What Polybius says is very true, that in matter of war, artifice and stratagem are of much more effect than open force and declared designs.

In this Hannibal excels. In all his actions, in all his enterprizes and battles, artifice and stratagem had always the greatest part. The manner Liv. xxii, in which he deceived the most wary and prudent ^{16, 17.}

<p>phontem in manibus habebat: cujus imprimis laudabat illud, quòd diceret, eosdem labores non esse æquè graves imperatori & militi, quòd ipse honos laborem leviolem faceret imperatorum. Cic. lib. 2. <i>Tusc. quæst.</i> n. 62.</p>	<p>ratu accepit, & profecutus est Rex. Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant, virum, sicut ad cetera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum, Liv. xxxvii.</p>
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(a) Venientes regio appa-
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7.

Y

of

Liv. xxx.
3—6.

of all generals, by setting fire to straw upon the horns of two thousand oxen, to extricate himself out of a dangerous situation, would alone suffice to shew how expert Hannibal was in the Science of stratagems. Nor was it less known by Scipio; and his burning the two camps of the enemy in Africa, is a proof of it.

7. Never to expose his person without necessity.

Pag. 603.

Polybius lays down as a maxim essential and capital to a General, that he ought never to expose his person, when the action is not general and decisive, and that even then he ought to keep as far out of danger as possible. He enforces this maxim by the contrary example of Marcellus, whose rash bravery, which ill suited a Captain of his age and experience, cost him his life, and threatened the ruin of the Commonwealth. It is upon this occasion he observes, that Hannibal, whom none certainly can suspect of fear, or of too great a love of life, in all the battles which he fought, took particular care to post himself in safety. And he makes the same remark in respect to Scipio, who in the siege of Carthage was obliged to expose his person, and confront the danger, but he did so with prudence and circumspection.

Pag. 587.

Plutarch in his comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus, says that the wounds or death of a General ought not to be merely accidental, but a means that contributes to success, and conduces to victory and the preservation of an army : *ὁ πᾶσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας*; and he laments that the two great men of whom he speaks, sacrificed all their other virtues to their valour, in being so prodigal of their blood and lives without necessity, and died for themselves and not for their country, to which
Generals

Generals are accountable for their deaths, as well as lives,

8. *Art and ability in battles.*

It were necessary to be a soldier by profession to observe, in the different battles fought by Hannibal and Scipio, upon their ability, address, presence of mind, attention in taking advantage of all the motions of the enemy, of all the sudden occasions resulting from chance, of all the circumstances of time and place, in a word, of all that can contribute to victory. I easily conceive that military persons must take great pleasure in reading in good authors the narrations of the famous battles which decided the fate of the Universe, as well as the reputation of the Captains of the Antients, and that it is, a great means for attaining perfection in the art military, to study under such masters, and to be thereby capable of improving as well from their defects as great qualities. But such reflections are above my capacity, and do not suit me.

9. *To have the gift of speaking, and to know how to give the proper bent of mind to people with address.*

I place this quality amongst the military virtues, because a General ought to be so in all things, and to discharge the functions of his office, his tongue, as well as his head and hand, is often a necessary instrument. This is one of the things, which Hannibal esteemed most in Pyrrhus : *artem etiam Liv. xxxv. conciliandi sibi homines miram habuisse* ; and he puts¹⁴ this talent on an equal rank with the perfect knowledge of the art military, by which Pyrrhus distinguished himself most.

To judge of our two Captains by the speeches, which historians have preserved, they both excelled in the talent of speaking : but I cannot tell, whether those historians have not lent them some part of their own eloquence. Some very ingenious repartees of Hannibal, which have come down to us from history, shew that he had an excellent fund of wit, and that nature alone was capable of doing that in him, which art and study do in others. But (*a*) Cornelius Nepos tells us, that he did not want letters, and that he had even composed works in Greek. As to Scipio, his parts were more improved ; and though the age he lived in was not so polite as that of the second Scipio, surnamed Africanus, as well as him, his intimacy with the poet Ennius, with whom it was his desire to have a common tomb, gives us room to believe, that he did not want taste for polite learning. However it be, Livy observes, that, when he arrived in Spain to command the army, in the first audience which he gave the deputies of the province, he spoke with a certain air of greatness that commanded respect, and at the same time in that simple and natural manner which persuades and inspires confidence, so that without letting a word escape that favoured in the least of haughtiness, he presently engaged the good opinion of every body, and acquired universal esteem and admiration. On another occasion, when Scipio and Asdrubal happened to be in the palace of Syphax to treat of affairs, the same historian observes, that Scipio had such an ascendant in conversation, and influenced people, as he pleased with so much address, that he equally charmed his host and his enemy by the force and attractions of his eloquence. And the

Lib. 26.
n. 19.

Lib. 28.
n. 18.

(*a*) Atque hic tantus vir, Namque aliquot ejus libri sunt
tantisque bellis distructus, non græco sermone confecti, *Corn.*
nihil temporis tribuit Literis. *Nep. in Annib. cap. 13.*

Carthaginian afterwards owned, that this private conversation had given him an higher idea of Scipio, than his victories and conquests; and that he did not doubt, but that Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans; so much art and capacity had Scipio in conciliating every body to his views. A single fact like this suffices to shew of what consequence it is to persons destined to the profession of arms, industriously to cultivate the talent of speaking: and it is hard to conceive how officers, who may have great talents for war, should sometime seem to be ashamed to know things out of their profession.

C O N C L U S I O N.

The question should now be to determine between Hannibal and Scipio in respect to military talents: but such a decision is not within my sphere. I have heard that in the opinion of the best Judges Hannibal is the most consummate Captain the world ever saw in the military art. And indeed it was in his school the Romans attained perfection in it, after having passed their first apprenticeship in the science against Pyrrhus. It must be confessed, that no General ever knew better how to take advantage of his ground for drawing up an army in battle, applying his troops to the service for which they were most fit, laying ambuscades, finding resources in distress, or keeping up discipline amongst so many different nations. He himself found subsistence and pay for his troops, remounted his cavalry, recruited his infantry, and supplied all the munitions necessary for sustaining an heavy war in a foreign country, against powerful enemies, during the space of sixteen successive years, and notwithstanding a powerful domestick faction, which refused him every
Y 3 thing,

thing, and distressed him in all things. And certainly we may call this a great General.

I also own, that to make a just comparison between the design of Hannibal and that of Scipio, that of Hannibal must be confessed to be the boldest, most dangerous, most difficult, and the most destitute of resources. He had the country of the Gauls to pass through, whom he was to consider as enemies; the Alps to pass, which would have been impracticable to any other; to settle the theatre of the war in the midst of the enemy's country and in the very heart of Italy, where he had neither towns, magazines, certain aid, or hopes of retreat. Add to this, that he attacked the Romans at the time of their greatest force, when their troops were entirely fresh, and still haughty and flushed from the success of the preceding war, were full of courage and confidence. As to Scipio, he had but a short trip to make from Sicily into Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was master of the sea. He preserved a free communication with Sicily, from whence he had in any quantities ammunitions and provisions. He attacked the Carthaginians towards the end of a war, in which they had suffered great losses, at a time when their power began to decline, and when they began to be exhausted of money, men, and courage. Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily had been taken from them, and they could no longer make any diversions against the Romans. Asdrubal's army had lately been cut to pieces: that of Hannibal was extremely weakened by many blows, and an almost universal want of all things. All these circumstances seem to give Hannibal much the preference to Scipio.

But two difficulties give me pause: the one deduced from the Generals he overcame; the other from the faults he committed.

May

May it not be said, that the glorious victories, which rendered the name of Hannibal so famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and rashness of the Roman Generals, as to his own valour and good conduct? When Fabius was given the command against him, and afterwards Scipio; the one checked his progress, and the other entirely defeated him.

The two faults said to be committed by Hannibal, the first in not marching directly to Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ, supposing it really a fault; the second in suffering his troops to be enervated at Capua, must greatly lessen his reputation. For these faults appear to some, essential, decisive, irreparable, and entirely contrary to the principal quality of a General, which is sense and judgment. As to Scipio, I do not find that he is reproached with any thing of the like nature, during the whole time he commanded the Roman armies.

I do not wonder therefore, that Hannibal, in the judgment he is said to have passed upon the most accomplished Generals, having given himself the third place after Alexander and Pyrrhus, on Scipio's asking him what he should say if he had conquered, replied: "I should then have set myself above Alexander and Pyrrhus, and all the Generals that ever were." A fine and delicate praise, and highly in favour of Scipio, which it distinguishes from all other Captains, as superior to them, and as being above comparison with any of them.

S E C T. II.

MORAL and CIVIL VIRTUES.

THIS is Scipio's triumph, whose goodness, mildness, moderation, generosity, justice, even chastity, and religion, are with reason admired: I say, this is the triumph of Scipio, or rather that of virtue; infinitely preferable to all the most glorious victories, conquests, and dignities. This is the fine thought which we have seen in Livy, where he speaks of the deliberation of the Senate assembled to determine which of the Romans was the best and most worthy man.

Liv. xxix. 14. *Haud parvæ rei judicium Senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in civitate esset. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei sibi quisque mallet, quàm ulla imperia honoresve suffragio seu Patrum seu plebis delatos.*

The Reader will not hesitate here, in whose favour to declare, especially if he remembers the horrid account Livy gives us of Hannibal. “His great
“vices, says that historian, after having repeated
“his praise, equalled such great virtues: inhu-
“man cruelty, more than Carthaginian perfidy,
“no regard for truth or any thing sacred; no
“fear of the gods, no regard for oaths, no reli-
Liv. xxi. 4 “gion.” *Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti: nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.*

We have here a strange portrait. I do not know whether it be faithfully copied after nature, and whether prejudice has not much heightened the colours. For generally speaking, the Romans may be suspected of not doing Hannibal sufficient justice, and of having said abundance of ill of him, because he had done them much.

Neither

Neither Polybius nor Plutarch, who have frequently occasion to mention him, gave him the horrid vices imputed to him by Livy. The very facts related by Livy contradict his picture of him. To mention only the single imputation, * *nullus deum metus, nulla religio*, there are proofs to the contrary. Before he set out from Spain, he went to Cadiz to discharge the vows he had made to Hercules, and to make new ones to him, in case that god favoured his enterprize. *Annibal Gades profectus, Herculi vota exolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prosperè evenissent.* Is this the behaviour of a man who knows neither religion, nor god? What induced him to quit his army, and undertake so long a pilgrimage? If it was hypocrisy, to impose upon superstitious nations, it had been more for his advantage to assume this mask of religion in the sight of all his troops assembled, and to imitate the religious ceremonies used by the Romans in the lustrations of their armies. Soon after Hannibal has a vision, which he believes to come from the gods, who reveal futurity to him, and the success of his enterprize. He passed several years near the rich temple of Juno Lacinia; and he not only took away nothing from it in the most pressing occasions of his army, but he was so attentive to protect it, though it was without the city, that none of his troops ever stole any thing out of it; and himself, before he quitted Italy, left a superb monument there. It was very clearly acknowledging the power of the divinity, to declare, as he did, that the gods had sometimes deprived him of the will, and sometimes of the power of taking Rome. In the treaty which he made with Philip, † after having invoked the

Liv. xx.
22.

Ibid. 12.

Ibid.
xxviii. 46,
Ibid.
xxvi. 11.

Ibid.
xxiii. 33.

* No fear of the gods, no religion.

† Polybius relates this circumstance.

gods to witness it, he evidently shews, that it is from their protection he expects all the success of his arms. And lastly, at his death, he invokes all the gods avengers of hospitality. All these facts, and many others, absolutely acquit him of the crime of irreligion with which Livy taxes him. The same may be said of his perjuries and want of faith in treaties. I do not find that he ever violated any, though the Carthaginians did, but without his participation. However it be, I shall not draw a parallel in this place between these two Captains, in respect to civil and moral virtues. I shall content myself with relating some of those, that shone out most in Scipio.

1. *Generosity, liberality.*

These are the virtues of great souls, as the love of money is the vice of mean spirits, void of honour. Scipio knew the true value of money, which is to make friends with it, and to attach mankind. The gifts which he had the address to time seasonably, the money which he generously restored to those who came to ransom either their children or relations, gained him almost as many adherents as his victories. He thereby entered into the views and character of the Roman People, who, as Scipio said himself, chose rather to attach men to them by acts of beneficence, than by fear : *qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit.*

Liv. xxvi.
20.

2. *Goodness, lenity.*

It is not possible to do good to all men, but, it is to express good will for all men. This is a coin with which many are satisfied, and does not exhaust the coffers of a General.

Scipio

Scipio had a wonderful talent for conciliating good opinion, and for gaining the heart, by kind, polite and engaging behaviour.

He treated the officers with good breeding, set the full value upon their services, extolled their glorious actions, gave them great presents or great praises, and even acted in the same manner with those who might have given some cause of jealousy, if he had been capable of it. He always kept Marcius, that famous officer, about his person, who after the death of his father and uncle, had reinstated the affairs of Spain; thereby shewing, says the historian, how far he was from taking umbrage at the merit of others: *Ut facilè appareret nihil Liv. xxvi. minus quam vereri, ne quis obstaret gloriæ suæ.* 20.

He knew how to temper even his reprimands with an air of goodness and candour, which rendered even reproof amiable. That which he was obliged to make Masinissa, who blinded by his passion had married Sophonisba, the declared enemy of the Roman People, is a perfect model of the manner in which persons ought to behave and speak in such delicate conjunctures. All the refinements of eloquence, all the precautions of prudence and wisdom, all the reserves of friendship, and all the dignity and elevation of command, without any air of haughtiness, are employed in it.

His goodness displayed itself even in chastisements. He used them only once, and very much against his will. This was in the sedition of Su-cro, which necessarily required, that examples should be made. “(a) He thought it, says he, “tearing out his own bowels, when he saw him-

(a) Tum se haud secus piasse octo millium seu impru-quàm viscera secantem sua, dentiam, seu noxam, Lib. 28. cum gemitu & lacrymis tri- n. 32, ginta hominum capitibus ex-

“self obliged to expiate the crime of eight thousand by the deaths of thirty.” It is remarkable that Scipio on this occasion does not make use of the words, *scelus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxæ*, which is a much softer term, and signifies only a *fault*. Neither does he venture to determine whether it be a fault or not ; and leaves room to suppose that it was only imprudence and levity : *otto millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam*.

He deemed it infinitely more meritorious to contribute to the preservation of a single citizen, than to kill a thousand of the enemy. (a) Capitolinus observes, that the Emperor Antoninus Pius often repeated this maxim of Scipio’s, and put it in practice.

Justice.

The exercise of this virtue is properly the function of those who are established in dignity and authority. It was by this that Scipio rendered the Roman sway so gentle and grateful to the allies and conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by the States, that they considered him as their protector and father. He must have had a great passion for justice, as he piqued himself upon doing it even to the enemy after they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it. The Carthaginians, during a truce which had been granted at their earnest request, took and plundered, with the knowledge and by order of the Republic, some Roman ships which had put to sea ; and to carry the insult to the utmost height, the Ambassadors, who had been sent to Carthage to

(a) Antoninus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, unum civem servare, quàm mille hostium occidere. *Capitol.* qua die dicebat, malle se cap. 9.

complain of the insult, were attacked on their return, and almost taken by Asdrubal. The Ambassadors of Carthage, who returned from Rome, had fallen into Scipio's hands. He was pressed to use reprisals. "No (*a*), said he. Though the Carthaginians have not only violated the faith of the truce, but also the law of nations in the persons of our Ambassadors, I shall not treat theirs in a manner unworthy either of the Roman dignity, or the rules of moderation, which I have hitherto followed."

4. *Greatness of soul.*

It shines out in all the actions, and almost in all the words of Scipio. But the States of Spain were entirely struck with them, when he refused the name of King, which they offered him when charmed with his valour and generosity. They perceived, (*b*) says Livy, what greatness of soul there was in thus regarding with contempt and disdain a title, which constitutes the principal object of the admiration and desire of the rest of mortals.

It is with the same air of greatness, when obliged to make his defence before the People, that he speaks so nobly of his services and exploits; and that instead of making a timorous apology for his conduct, he goes to the Capitol, followed by the whole People, to thank the gods for the victories they had vouchsafed that he should gain.

(*a*) Et si non induciarum modò fides à Carthaginienſibus, ſed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum eſſet; tamen ſe nihil nec inſtitutis populi Romani nec ſuis moribus indignum in iis facturum eſſe.

Lib. 30. n. 25.

(*b*) Senſere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nominis alii mortales ſtupuerunt, id ex tam alto ſaſtigio aſpernantis. *Lib. 27. n. 19.*

5. *Chastity.*

5. Chastity.

We can scarce conceive how a Pagan could carry the love of this virtue so high as Scipio did. The story of the young Princess of exquisite beauty, who was kept in his house as if she was in that of her own father, is known by every body. I have related it with sufficient extent, as well as the fine discourse which he made to Masinissa upon the same subject.

6. Religion.

I have frequently quoted the famous conversation between Cambyfes King of Persia and his son Cyrus, which with reason is considered as an abridgment of the most useful lessons that can be given to whoever is to command armies, or be employed in government. This excellent discourse begins and ends with what concerns religion, as if all other advice without that must be useless. Cambyfes, above all things, recommends to his son religiously to discharge all the duties which the Divinity requires from mankind: never to form any enterprize great or small, without consulting the gods: to begin all his actions by imploring their aid, and to cause them to be succeeded by thanksgivings; all good success proceeding from their protection, to which no one has a right, and which consequently is to be ascribed to them. Accordingly this is what Cyrus practised very exactly; and he confesses himself in the conversation from which this is extracted, that he sat out for his first campaign full of confidence in the goodness of the gods, because he is conscious to himself of having never neglected their worship.

I do

I do not know, whether our Scipio had read the Cyropœdia, as the second certainly had, who made it his usual study; but it is evident, that he imitated Cyrus in every thing, especially in religious worship. From the time that he put on the robe of manhood, that is, from the age of seven-^{Liv. xxvi.}teen, he never began any affair, either public or private, without having first been at the Capitol, to implore the aid of Jupiter. We have in Livy ^{Ibid.} the solemn prayer which he made to the gods in ^{xxix. 27.} setting out from Sicily to Africa: and the same historian does not omit to observe, that soon after the taking of Carthagenæ, he publicly thanked the gods for the good success of that enterprize : *Postero die, militibus navalibusque sociis convocatis,* ^{Ibid.} *primum diis immortalibus laudesque & grates egit.* ^{xxvi. 48.}

The question here is not to examine what this religion was either of Cyrus, or Scipio. Every body knows that it must have been false. But the example which he gives all commanders and all men, of beginning and ending all their actions by prayers and thanksgivings, is but too strong. For what would they not have said and done, if like us they had been illuminated with true religion, and had the good fortune to know the true God? After such examples, what shame would it be for Christian Generals, not to seem as religious as these Captains of the antient Pagan world.

 BOOK THE TWENTY FIFTH.

 THE
 ROMAN HISTORY.

THE great subject of our history during the ten or twelve following years, is the war of the Romans with Perseus the last King of Macedonia, which terminates with the ruin of that kingdom, and the end of the Macedonian power. This event is mingled in Livy with some inconsiderable expeditions in Spain, Istria, Liguria, Sardinia, Corsica, and some other provinces. I shall first treat of these expeditions separately, and in the most succinct manner possible; however, without omitting any thing that shall seem worthy of attention. I shall do the same in respect to the domestick affairs and polity of Rome. In this method, the war in Macedonia, not being interrupted with foreign events, will be related with more order and less obscurity.

Affairs of Spain.

L. Postumius and Ti. Sempronius Proprætors, divided Celtiberia between them, and each on their side gained many battles, and took a great number of cities. Both had afterwards the honour of triumphing.

A. R. 573.
 Aet. C. 179.
 Celtiberi-
 ans sub-
 jected.
 Liv. xl.
 47—50.

Five years after, the Celtiberians, whom Sempronius seemed to have entirely subjected; revolted with great insolence, and even were so bold to attack the camp of the Romans, which they at first put into great confusion: but they were soon vigorously repulsed. Fifteen thousand men were either killed or taken prisoners on their side.

A. R. 578.
Ant.C. 174.
They are again defeated.
Liv. xli. 26.

A revolt, excited amongst the Celtiberians by an enthusiastic soldier, who pretended to have received a silver javelin from heaven, and designed to assassinate the Prætor, was quelled by the death of the criminal who was killed upon the spot, and by the wise moderation used by the Prætor to bring the people back to their duty.

A. R. 582.
Ant.C. 170.
Revolt quelled amongst the Celtiberians.
Flor. ii. 17.
Liv. xlii. 4.

War of Istria.

Istria is a province of Italy in the State of Venice: its principal cities are POLA, called also *Pietas Julia*; PARENTIUM, *Parento*; TERGESTA, *Trieste*, which were antiently part of it.

A. R. 574.
Ant.C. 178.
The army of the Consul Manlius, after having been defeated by the Istrians, gains a considerable victory.

The Consul Manlius had Gaul for his province. Not finding any thing there to deserve a triumph, at which he aspired, he seized the occasion of making war upon the Istrians with joy. Besides the aid they had formerly granted the Ætolians against the armies of the Commonwealth, they had very lately made incursions upon the allies of Rome, that had terminated in plunder, of which this nation was very greedy. Manlius, without waiting the Senate's orders, set out from Aquileja where he was, in order to attack this people. The Commonwealth had a squadron on this sea to defend the coast. The Consul sent part of it into the nearest port of the confines of Istria, with transports laden with provisions. He repaired thither himself by land, and incamped five miles from the sea. To secure the convoys, and sustain

Liv. xli. 1—6.

A. R. 574. the foragers, he posted many' detachments round
Ant. C. 178. his camp. That on the side of Istria between the sea and the camp, had orders not to quit their post. This was a cohort of new raised men in the colony of Placentia, strengthened with some other troops.

The Istrians had followed the enemy's army through by-ways without being discovered, watching an occasion to attack it with advantage. Having discovered that the detachments which surrounded the camp were not numerous, and observed little order, they attacked the cohort of Placentia. A fog that arose that morning concealed their march : but being half dispersed by the first rays of the sun, a kind of gloom remained, which magnifying objects, presented the appearance of a much more numerous army to the eyes of the Romans, than that of the enemy was. The soldiers fled terrified into the camp, where they occasioned still more dread than they had themselves. The cries raised at the gates, the gloom which augmented the confusion, the agitation of the soldiers, who in running from their several quarters crowded and fell over one another, all this made the remotest apprehend, that the enemy had entered the intrenchments. A voice raised by chance bade the troops run towards the sea. As if it had been the signal for departure, at first a small number of soldiers, most without arms, made towards the port : a greater number imitated them : and at last all the troops followed them, to the Consul himself, who had ineffectually employed his authority, orders, and even entreaties to retain them. None stayed but the legionary Tribune M. Licinus Strabo, with about five or six hundred men.

The

The enemy having entered the lines, fell upon that officer, who was drawing up his small body of troops in battle. The fight was bloody, and ended only when that Tribune with all his soldiers was killed. The Istrians having found a great abundance of all kinds of provisions in the camp, their King, called Epulo, sat down to table, and began to feast. All that followed him quitting their arms, did the same without regard to the enemy. As it was not their custom to meet with either such good provisions, or in such abundance, they greedily glutted themselves with wine and meat:

The Romans were then in a very different situation. They were in a consternation both by sea and land. The marines struck their tents, and carried away as fast as possible the provisions and munitions exposed upon the shore. The land-soldiers, full of terror, threw themselves into boats and endeavoured to gain the sea. The pilots and mariners, apprehending that their vessels would be overladen, took care, some to keep off the multitude that came for refuge, and others to remove their ships from shore, and to stand out to the open sea. Hence arose a fight between the soldiers and ships crews, which did not pass without wounds and bloodshed; till at length by the Consul's order, the fleet removed from the shore, and made out to sea.

The whole Roman army would have been the enemy's prey, if they had known any thing of making war. The Consul, taking advantage of their ignorance, drew together all the troops that remained from the different places into which they had dispersed in flight. Without loss of time he led them to the camp. The few Istrians, who were not drunk, fled: the rest were put to the

A. R. 574.
Anl.C. 178. sword. The Romans recovered all they had left in their camp, except the wine and provisions, which the Barbarians had consumed. About eight thousand Istrians were killed. Their King fled, more than half drunk, with the help of an horse upon which his people had set him, after having taken him in haste from table. The loss of the Romans was not considerable.

The news of the flight of the Consular army having reached Rome, occasioned great alarm there. As rumour always magnifies objects, especially for the worst, the army was believed to be entirely defeated. New troops were raised with extraordinary haste. Orders were given on different sides for sending aid to the Consul. Junius his colleague marched from Liguria into Gaul. But he was informed on his route, that the Roman army was safe, and that the Istrians were retired. He immediately dispatched a courier to Rome to carry this good news thither, which delivered the city from great disquiet. The two Consuls returned to Aquileja, in order to put their troops into winter quarters there.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 575.
Anl.C. 177.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

As soon as the winter was over, the two Consuls of the preceding year, Manlius and Junius, made their troops enter the country of the Istrians, and put all to fire and sword. The latter having armed all their youth, ventured a battle, in which about four thousand were killed. They retired into their cities and towns, from whence they sent to demand peace of the Roman Generals, and then gave the hostages required of them.

When

When this news was brought to Rome by letters from the Proconsuls, the Consul C. Claudius, to whom Istria had fallen by lot for his province, apprehended that this good success would deprive him of the occasion of signalizing himself. He therefore set out suddenly from Rome in the night, without having made the usual vows in the Capitol, and without being attended by his Lic-tors, or apprizing his Collegue of his design. After having assembled the army, he began by declaiming in violent terms against the cowardice, with which Manlius had abandoned his camp: whereby he mortified all the soldiers, who had fled first. He afterwards reproached Junius of making himself the accomplice of his Collegue's bad conduct, by joining him. And he concluded his invectives by giving them both orders to quit the province immediately.

A. R. 575.
Ant. C. 177.
The violent conduct of the new Consul in respect to the Pro-consuls.
Liv. xli. 10.

They answered him, that if he had made the solemn vows in the Capitol for the safety of the State, and had quitted the city in his coat of arms, and preceded by his Lic-tors, as custom and the laws required, they would make no difficulty to obey him. But till he had discharged those obligations, they could not acknowledge the consular authority in him. This answer put the Consul into a fury. He ordered Man-liu's Quæstor to be called, and commanded him to bring chains, threatening to send Junius and Manlius bound hand and foot to Rome if they did not obey. That officer shewed no more regard to his orders. The whole army surrounding their Generals, whose defence they avowedly took upon themselves, gave every body confidence and courage to despise the commands and menaces of so violent and unreasonable a Consul.

Claudius, not being able to bear this opposition and the raillery of the soldiers (for they added insult to disobedience) returned to Aquileja in the

A. R. 575. same ship that brought him. From thence he
 Ant. C. 177. wrote to his Collegue to make the troops intended
 for Istria repair to Aquileja, in order that when
 he should arrive at Rome, and have made the
 usual vows in the Capitol, nothing should keep
 him in the city, and that he might immediately
 quit it with all the formalities of his command.
 His Collegue executed the whole punctually, and
 ordered the troops in question to repair imme-
 diately to Aquileja. Claudius followed his letters
 as soon as possible, and no sooner arrived at Rome,
 than having assembled the People to inform them
 of what had passed between him and the Procon-
 suls Manlius and Junius, he immediately per-
 formed the ceremony of the Capitol; and on the
 third day, in the usual robe, and attended by his
 Lictors, he returned into his province with as
 much expedition as he had before.

*Claudius
 attacks
 Nesar-
 tium; hor-
 rid despair
 of the in-
 habitants.
 Liv. xli.
 11.*

Junius and Manlius had already for some days
 attacked the city of Nesartium, in which the
 principal Istrians with their King Epulo, had
 shut themselves up. But, as soon as Claudius ar-
 rived with two new legions, he dismissed them
 and the old troops; and continuing the siege of
 that place, he endeavoured to make himself master
 of it by the help of works and machines. For
 this purpose, having by a work of several days
 turned the current of the river, which running
 along the walls, prevented his attacks, and sup-
 plied the besieged with water, of which they were
 in want, he no less terrified than surprized the
 Barbarians, who saw themselves deprived of a
 support absolutely necessary to them. But by the
 extremity to which he had reduced them, he
 could not induce them to ask peace. Rather than
 surrender, those frantic People resolved to kill
 their wives and children, and to exhibit to the be-
 siegers a sight, which shewed them of what they
 were

were capable, after having cut their throats before their eyes, they threw their dead bodies from their walls into their camp. Whilst these Barbarians were employed in these horrid executions, and the cries of their women and children made no impression on their cruel hearts, the Romans scaled the walls and entered the place. As soon as the King judged from the cries of those who fled, that the place was in the enemy's power, to avoid falling alive into the victor's hands, he killed himself with his sword. All the rest were either killed or taken. The Consul also took and demolished two other cities. He found more plunder in them, than he expected from so poor a nation, and gave it entirely to the soldiers. He sold five thousand prisoners by auction, and caused the authors of the war to be whipt and beheaded. Istria, by the death of its King, and the ruin of the three cities, re-attained its former tranquillity, and all its States gave Hostages to the Romans, and submitted to their sway. Thanksgivings were decreed at Rome for these successes.

A. R. 575.
Ant. C. 177.

*Istria is
entirely
subdued.
Ibid.*

Expeditions in LIGURIA.

Two years before what we have just related, Liguria had been given as a province to the two Consuls Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius. The first having overcome the enemy, made them quit their hills to settle in the plains, and left troops upon the mountains to secure those posts. His colleague Manlius did nothing considerable. Gauls of the other side of the Alps having at this time entered Italy to the number of three thousand without committing any hostilities, asked land of the Consul and Senate where they might settle and live in peace under the protection of, and in dependance upon, the Roman People. The Senate

A. R. 573.
Ant. C. 179.
*Ligurians
defeated
by Fulvius.
Liv. xl.
53.*

A. R. 573. ordered the Gauls to quit Italy, and the Consul
 Ant. C. 179. Q. Fulvius to find out those, who had advised
 this swarm to pass the Alps and to punish
 them.

A. R. 575. The next year passed without acting against the
 Ant. C. 177. Ligurians. But in the year 575 Claudius had no
The Ligu- sooner subjected the Istrians, than he received or-
rians de- ders from the Senate to march his legions into
feated by Liguria. He gave the enemy battle, killed them
Claudius. fifteen thousand men, and took above seven hun-
 Liv. xli. dred prisoners, with fifty one ensigns. On his
 12, 13. return to Rome he triumphed over Istria and
 Liguria.

They are The Ligurians did not long continue quiet.
defeated Claudius received new orders to march against
a second them, and defeated them a second time. They
time. retired to their mountains.

Ibid. 14. The Consul Pætilius attacked them there. He
 & 15. was killed in battle. The enemy did not discover
 Ibid. 18. it, and were again defeated with the loss of five
 thousand men.

A. R. 579. Three years after the Consul M. Popillius
 Ant. C. 173. fought the Ligurians near Carystos, in the terri-
Defeat of tory of the Statiellates, where their troops had
the Ligu- assembled on the arrival of the Romans. At first
rians by they kept within the walls of that city: but per-
the Consul ceiving that the Consul was preparing to besiege
Popillius, them, they drew up in battle before the gates.
subtreats This was what Popillius wanted. The combat
them with continued three hours, and was very bloody.
great The Ligurians left ten thousand men upon the
cruelty. field, and the victorious Romans lost above three
 Liv. xlii. 7. thousand. After this defeat the Ligurians fur-
 rendered at discretion, in hopes that the Consul
 would not treat them more rigorously than the
 preceding Generals had done. But he took from
 them all their arms, absolutely forbade them to
 make new ones, demolished their city, sold them
 and

and their effects by auction, and wrote an account ^{A. R. 579.} to the Senate of all that had passed in his pro- ^{Ant. C. 173.} vince.

When the Prætor A. Atilius, in the Consul's ^{The Senate} absence, had read the letter in the Senate, there ^{condemns} was not a single Senator who did not think the ^{the Con-} Consul's conduct vile and infamous. They said, ^{ful's con-} "that the Statiellates, the only people of Ligu- ^{duci.} ria who had not borne arms against the Com- ^{Ibid. 8, 9.} monwealth, who, even on this last occasion, had not been the aggressors, and had only defended themselves against the Consul who attacked them, undoubtedly deserved to be treated with some moderation: that notwithstanding, after they had submitted and abandoned themselves to the faith of the Roman People, he had exercised all the cruelties imaginable against them: that by selling so many thousand innocent persons for slaves, who implored the justice of the Roman People, he had set a pernicious example, which in the consequence would only occasion, that they should have no enemy who would not rather chuse to fight to the last extremity, than submit."

It was therefore decreed, "That the Consul Popillius should reinstate the Ligurians in their liberty, by returning their money to those who had bought them: that he should take care to restore such of their effects as could be found: that they should be permitted to make themselves arms; and lastly, that the Consul should quit the province as soon as he should have re-established the Ligurians in their former condition." The Senate's maxim was, (a) that what

(a) *Claram victoriam vincendo pugnantes, non sævendo in afflictos, fieri. This* *every body remembers, Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

Virgil observes in the fine verse

ren-

A. R. 579. renders a victory glorious, is to subdue those who
 Ant. C. 173. oppose in arms, and not to treat those cruelly
 who submit.

The Consul was not in haste to execute orders so mortifying for him. He immediately put his legions into winter quarters at Pisæ, and returned to Rome full of rage and indignation. Having assembled the Senate in the temple of Bellona, he made bitter complaints upon the decree which had been passed against him, to which nothing was wanting, said he, but his being delivered up to the conquered people: he demanded that it might be annulled; and that the Prætor, who had proposed and passed it, might be fined. He insisted much upon public thanksgivings, which he pretended to be due to the gods for the good success of his arms. He received no other answer but reproaches as warm as he deserved, and returned to his army without obtaining any thing he had demanded.

A. R. 580.
 Ant. C. 172.

C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
 P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

*The dispute
 in respect
 to the Li-
 guri-ans is
 renewed.*

Liv. xliii.
 10.

Liv. ibid.
 21.

The beginning of this year the disputes of the preceding were revived. The Senators were for having the affair of the Ligurians brought again upon the carpet, and that the decree of the Senate in their favour might be renewed; and this was moved by the Consul Ælius. On the other side Popillius interceded for his brother with his colleague and the Senate, declaring that he would oppose all that should be resolved against him. He had no difficulty to bring over his colleague: but the Senators were only the more inclined in effect to persist in their opinion. The Consuls did not set out for their provinces, because they would not permit the Senate, who made instances to that purpose, to deliberate upon the affair of M. Popillius;

pillius ; and the Senate on their side were for deciding it previously to all others. A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.

In the mean time M. Popillius made himself still more odious than before, by writing to the Senate, that in quality of Proconsul he had given the Ligurians Statellites battle a second time, in which he had killed them ten thousand men. So unjust a war had induced all the other States of Liguria to resume their arms. The Senate then rose up with great warmth not only against the absent Popillius, who contrary to justice and the law of nations, had declared war upon a subjected people, and made a nation, that remained at peace, revolt, but also against the Consuls, who neglected to repair to their province.

Two Tribunes of the People, animated by this unanimous consent of the Senate, declared they would fine the Consuls, if they did not go and take upon them the command of the armies ; and at the same time they caused the law they intended to propose concerning the Ligurians, who had surrendered upon the faith of the Consul Popillius, to be read in the Senate. By this law it was decreed, that if there were any of the Ligurian Statellites, whom Popillius had sold since they had surrendered to him, and were not restored to liberty before the approaching Calends (the first day) of August, the Senate, assembled upon oath, should appoint a commissioner, to inform against him who should be found guilty of having unjustly reduced them into slavery, and to make him suffer the punishment due to his injustice. This law was proposed in effect with the authority of the Senate. The People passed it with joy ; and in consequence the Prætor C. Licinius demanded of the Senators, that they would direct the informations it decreed, to be made ; and they gave that commission to the Prætor himself,

The Prætor Licinius is appointed commissioner to enquire into and judge the affair of Popillius.
Liv. xlii. 21.

The

A. R. 580.
 ANL.C. 172.

The Consuls at length set out for their province, where they took upon them the command of the army, which M. Popillius resigned to them. But that General did not dare yet to return to Rome, to avoid being obliged, odious as he actually was to the Senate, and still more to the People, to answer for his conduct before a Prætor, who had proposed the law in the Senate for bringing him to a trial. To this desertion of the accused, the Tribunes opposed the menaces of another law, importing, that if he did not return to the city before the Ides (the 13th) of November, the Prætor C. Licinius should pass sentence upon him for contumacy.

*Popillius
 on his re-
 turn to
 Rome es-
 capes sen-
 tence by the
 facility of
 the Præ-
 tor Lici-
 nius.
 Liv. xlii.
 22.*

It was then necessary to obey. Accordingly he returned to Rome. As soon as he appeared in the Senate, the general discontent of that Body, revived by his presence, drew upon him a thousand warm reproaches, followed with a decree, by which it was ordained, that such of the Ligurians, who had not been enemies of the Commonwealth since the Consulship of Q. Fulvius and L. Manlius, should be reinstated in their liberty by the Prætors C. Licinius and Cn. Sicinius, and that the Consul C. Popillius, the accused's brother, should settle them on the other side of the Po. This regulation restored the liberty of many thousands, who were made to pass the Po, in order to cultivate lands which were assigned them.

M. Popillius, in virtue of the law passed by the Tribunes in favour of the Ligurians, was obliged to appear and take his trial before the Prætor, and to defend himself at two hearings. His affair not being determined, it was brought on a third time. But the Prætor then, having been influenced by his consideration for the absent Consul C. Popillius, and the intercession of the whole family of those two brothers, put off the sentence

sentence to the Ides (the 15th) of March, the day on which the new magistrates were to enter upon office, and he was to quit his to resume a private condition. Thereby, not being any longer in authority, he left the affair undecided. And this was the artificial evasion employed to elude the law, and procure impunity for Popillius.

But is it therefore allowable for a judge to elude the authority of laws in this manner, and to screen a person so criminal as this from their just rigour? Not to mention the insolent contempt of so venerable a Body as the Roman Senate, can we with cool blood behold the misfortune of an infinite number of freemen, condemned without reason to a cruel slavery, and, which is much more horrid, the murder of twenty thousand innocent persons in two battles fought by this Consul, contrary to the Senate's prohibition? And in such a case, (a) shall recommendation, friendship, and credit take place of the views of public good? Is it not sometimes as great a prevarication to acquit a criminal, as to condemn an innocent person: since it is opening a door to licence, to leave guilt unpunished? Does a magistrate, in the exercise of his function, believe himself at liberty to act as he shall think fit? What then becomes of that admirable principle so strongly inculcated by a Pagan: That the (b) State, in appointing a judge, does not give up its power absolutely to his discretion, but con-

A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.

*Reflexion
upon the
conduct of
the Prætor
Licinius.*

(a) Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. *Salust. in bell. Jugurth.*

(b) Est sapientis Judicis cogitare, tantum sibi à populo Romano esse permissum, quantum commissum & creditum sit, & non solum sibi potesta-

tem datam, verum etiam fidem habitam esse meminisse. — Tum verò illud est hominis magni atque sapientis, cum illam, judicandi causa, tabellam sumpserit, non se putare esse solum, sed habere in consilio legem, religionem, æquitatem, fidem — maximique

A. R. 580. fides it to him as a depofite for which he is account-
 Ant. C. 172. table? That he ought not to confult his own inclination, but the inviolable rule of his duty in the exercife of his office? That, though he fhould even have neither affociates nor witneffes, he ought not to think himfelf as alone, but to fee around him the laws, religion, equity, and fidelity, as fo many coadjutors, who fit in judgment with him, and will judge himfelf; and efpecially hear and regard the fecret voice of confcience, which can never be totally fuppreffed? Licinius on this occafion violates all thefe rules. Livy's expreffion, which diftinguiſhes his conduct as only fallacious addrefs, ſeems to me far from being fufficiently ſtrong. *Ita rogatio de Liguribus arte fallaci elufa eſt.*

Affairs of Sardinia and Corſica.

A. R. 575. What paſſed in theſe iſlands is of little confe-
 Ant. C. 177. quence. Two States of Sardinia diſturbed its
 Liv. xli. tranquillity. The Conſul Ti. Sempronius march-
 6—12. ed his troops againſt them, and defeated them in a battle, in which they loſt twelve thouſand troops.
 Ibid. 17. He fought them ſeveral times after, and killed them above fifteen thouſand men in different actions. They ſubmitted to the Romans, and gave them hoſtages. In this manner the peace of the iſland was reſtored.

Liv. xlii. The Prætor Cicereius defeated the Corſicans in
 7—12. a battle, in which they had ſeven thouſand men killed, and more than ſeventeen hundred taken priſoners. Peace, which they earneſtly ſollicited, was granted them, and theſe iſlanders were made

que æſtimare conſcientiam nobis divelli non poteſt. Cic.
 mentis ſuæ, quam ab diis im- in orat. pro Cluent. n. 159.
 mortalibus accepimus, quæ à

to pay two hundred thousand pounds in weight of wax, which are about 156,250 pounds of our weight. Cicereius had the honour of a triumph for this victory.

Affairs that happened at Rome.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

A. R. 574.
Ant.C. 178.

A. MANLIUS VULSO.

A vestal, who had suffered the eternal fire of Vesta to go out, was whipt according to custom.

Vestal punished.

Upon the closing of the *Census* by the Censors M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior, the number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and seventy three thousand two hundred and forty four.

Epit. l. xli.
Census.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 575.
Ant.C. 177.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

The Latin allies brought their complaints before the Senate upon an abuse which was become common amongst them. The law permitted those who had families and left any child in their country, to go and settle at Rome, and to cause themselves to be registered upon the list of the citizens.

Complaints of the Latins and other allies.
Liv. xli. 8.

Many, in eluding the law by different frauds, abandoned their country without leaving any children there to represent them. The Latins remonstrated, that if this abuse continued, in few years their cities and countries would be uninhabited, and they should not be capable of supplying the Commonwealth with the usual number of soldiers. The Samnites and Peligni also represented, that four thousand families of their States were gone to settle at Fregellæ, and that notwithstanding, the same number of troops were required of them.

The

A. R. 575. The Senate deemed the complaints of their allies
 Ant.C. 177. reasonable, and to redress the grievance, caused
 the old law passed upon that head to be strictly
 observed.

A. R. 577.
 Ant.C. 175.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.

*Son of the
 great Sci-
 pio chosen
 Prætor.
 Val Max.
 iv. 11. &
 iii. 5.*

In the election of Prætor for the following year, a thing happened worthy of remark. Five Prætors had already been chosen. The sixth vacancy was disputed, on one side by Lucius, or according to Valerius Maximus, by Cn. Cornelius Scipio, son of the great Scipio Africanus; and on the other by C. Cicereius, who had been secretary to the same Scipio. Could it be believed, that the People would hesitate a single moment to give the preference to Scipio's son? However the latter, by his bad conduct, had so much effaced the impression which the remembrance of his father had made upon people's minds, that all the Centuries declared for Cicereius. But he was so generous as not to suffer such an affront to be done to his master's son, and quitting the habit of candidate, he left him without competitor, and even supported him with his credit. The office was given to Scipio, but Cicereius had all the honour of it.

The glory of fathers is of no great weight to children, when their own merit falls short of it, and only serves to make their defects more conspicuous, and even, in effect, more contemptible. This the Scipio in question experienced, who was the same taken prisoner in the war with Antiochus, and afterwards sent back by that Prince to his father. He degenerated so much from the virtues of his father and ancestors, that his relations, according to Valerius Maximus, were obliged to use their interest to have him prohibited exercising
 the

the functions of Prætor, and took from him the ring on which his father's head was engraved, that he wore on his finger, as dishonouring the name and memory of that great man by his conduct.

Scipio had another son, by whom the second Scipio Africanus was adopted. Cato, in the book which Cicero composed upon old age, speaks highly in his favour. He says, that but (a) for the weakness of his constitution, which was extreme, he was capable of having been the other light of Rome, and that to his father's greatness of soul he added erudition and a taste for polite learning. Accordingly, Cicero says in another book, (b) that some of his extant speeches, and an history wrote in Greek in a very agreeable style, shew that if the force of his body had answered that of his mind, he might have been ranked in the number of the most eloquent orators.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

A. R. 578.
Ant. C. 174.

There was a very great plague this year at Great Rome, which carried off abundance of citizens, ^{plague at} and even of the most illustrious. Recourse, ac- ^{Rome.} cording to the religious custom in all times, ob- ^{Liv. xli.} served at Rome, was had to the gods. Vows were made, and a great number of victims sacrificed to them.

(a) Quàm fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius is, qui te adoptavit! (He speaks to the second Scipio Africanus) quàm tenui aut potius nulla valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum ille extitisset lumen civitatis. Ad paternam enim

magnitudinem animi doctrina uberius accesserat. *De Senect.* 35.

(b) Si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus. Inducant cum orationculæ, tum historia quædam Græca, scripta dulcissimè. *Brut.* 77.

A. R. 578.
 Ant. C. 174.
Censorship
exercised
with ri-
gour.
 Liv. xli.
 27. .

The Censorship of Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus was remarkable for the severity which they exercised against nine Senators; whom they struck out of the list of that body. The Scipio, of whom we have just spoke, was of that number. This punishment did not make him lose the office of Prætor. But it was not proper, that a man publickly dishonoured with a note of infamy, should be employed in the administration of justice; and it was for this reason that his relations prevailed to have him prohibited the exercise of that office. Many of the Knights were also degraded, and struck out of the list.

Fine works
executed by
the Cen-
sors.

The same Censors also rendered themselves very famous by a great number of public works which they undertook and compleated. Amongst others, (a) Livy observes, that they were the first who caused the streets of Rome to be paved with flints, put pebbles and gravel under the stones laid upon the great ways without Rome, and made causeways for the convenience of persons on foot.

What Livy describes here in few words, and those sufficiently obscure, may, in my opinion, be explained by what I have related in the second volume of this history, speaking of the Edileship, which I have extracted word for word from father Montfaucon. The passage may be consulted.

Law Pro-
curia a-
gainst wo-
men in re-
spect to in-
heritances.
 Cic. in
 Ver. I.

The end of this year was remarkable for a new and important law relating to the women, and which occasioned much noise and stir in the city. Hitherto they had inherited all kinds of estates in the same manner as the men. From thence it often happened, that the fortunes of the most il-

107. & de
 Sen. 14.
 Dio l. lvi.

(a) Censores vias sternendas dasque, primi omnium locaverunt. Liv.
 filice in urbe, glarea extra urbem substernendas, marginan-

lustrious houses were transferred into strange families, which did the Commonwealth great prejudice, whose interest it is that considerable estates should be perpetuated in great families, to enable the Heads of them to support the dignity of their births; and the expences attending great employments with splendor. Besides this reason, there was room to apprehend, that as the fortunes of private persons increased continually in proportion with the power of the State, if the ladies should come to possess considerable riches, as the sex is naturally inclined to shew and ornaments, their wealth might induce them to give into luxury and expence, and to deviate from the antient purity of manners, by departing from the antient simplicity of life. To obviate these inconveniencies, Q. Volumnius Saxa, Tribune of the People, proposed a law, *by which it was prohibited for any one inrolled upon the list of the Roman citizens, since the Censorship of Aul. Postumius and Q. Fulvius, to appoint any woman his heiress, and that any woman should inherit any estate above the value of an hundred thousand sesterces, (about six hundred and fifty pounds.)* He added another article, which did not regard the women in particular. The first, which excluded them in general from inheriting the estates of Roman citizens, admitted great difficulties. Cato, who always declared against the ladies, and was then sixty-five years old, spoke against them now in favour of the law with great strength of voice and vivacity of action, and occasioned its being passed.

The Censor Q. Fulvius caused a temple to be built at Rome to the goddess Fortune, surnamed *Equestris*, to accomplish a vow, which he had made in Spain in a battle with the Celtiberians. As he was ambitious that it should be the most superb and magnificent structure of the city, he

A. R. 578.
Ant. Q. 174.

Marble
tiles taken
from the

temple of
Juno La-
cinia, and

carried
back by

order of the
Senate.

Liv. xlii,

A. R. 578. thought that marble tiles would not a little contri-
 ANT. C. 174. bute to embellish it. With this design he went
 to Brutium, and caused half the tiles which covered
 the temple of Juno Lacinia to be taken away. That
 quantity seemed sufficient for that he was building.
 He had vessels ready to carry off these materials to
 Rome; and the allies, out of respect for his dignity
 as Censor, did not dare to oppose this sacrilege.
 Flaccus, on his return to Rome, caused the tiles to
 be unladen, and ordered them to be carried to the
 temple of Fortune. Though he did not say from
 whence he had taken them, it was soon known at
 Rome. The Senate murmured highly at it, and all
 demanded, that the affair should be brought upon
 the carpet. The Censor's presence was desired.
 As soon as he appeared, they began to rise up
 against him with more vehemence than before.
 Each Senator, in particular, and all in general,
 made him the most cutting reproaches. " That not
 " contented with failing in reverence for the most
 " revered divinity in all that country, whom even
 " Pyrrhus and Hannibal had always respected, he
 " had uncovered her temple, and had almost ruined
 " it. That he had taken off its roof, and had exposed
 " it to all the injuries of the weather. That a
 " Censor, whose office it was to watch over the
 " manners of the citizens, and one of whose prin-
 " cipal functions was to take care of temples, ran
 " from city to city to ruin the temples of the gods,
 " and to rob them of their finest ornaments. That
 " such a violence exercised upon profane and
 " private buildings, would seem vile to all the
 " world: but in respect to the temples of the
 " gods, it was an abominable sacrilege, and the
 " consequences were to be feared for the whole
 " Roman People. Could he imagine that one tem-
 " ple could be adorned by the ruins of another?
 " As

“ As if the gods were not every where the same, A. R. 578.
Ant. C. 174.
“ and one was to be violated to honour ano-
“ ther.”

Before they proceeded to voting, the whole Senate, had evidently expressed their sentiments. Accordingly it was unanimously determined, that the tiles should be carried back to the temple from which they had been taken, and that the wrath of Juno should be appeased by sacrifices. This was punctually executed. But the persons who had been appointed to carry back the tiles, declared to the Senate, that they had been left below in the avenue, because there was no workman to be found there who had skill enough to replace them.

The Censors Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postu- Census.
Liv. xlii.
10. mius Albinus closed the *Lustrum*. The latter performed the ceremony. The number of the citizens amounted to two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen: which was less than the *Census* before, because the Consul L. Postumius had decreed in the full assembly, that all the allies of the Latin States should cause themselves to be inrolled in their own country, and prohibited their being included in the registers made at Rome, conformably to the edict of the Consul C. Claudius.

A great wind from the sea carried so prodigious Cloud of
gras. hoppers.
C. Ibid. a cloud of grasshoppers into Apulia, that all the land in that country was covered with them. C. Sicinius, one of the Prætors elect, was sent into Apulia to destroy that pest so fatal to the productions of the earth. With a great number of the country people whom he drew together to destroy those animals, he found it very difficult, and employed much time in delivering the country from them.

A. R. 580.
AEL. C. 172.

C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

Ambassadors from Carthage complain in the Senate of Masinissa's usurpations.
Liv. xlii.
2, 3.

The Ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who were then at Rome, had great disputes in the Senate with Gulussa, the son of Masinissa. They first complained, “ that besides the territory on “ account of which the Senate had already sent “ commissioners into Africa, to examine upon “ the spot to whom it appertained, Masinissa “ two years since had again possessed himself of “ above seventy cities and forts in the dependance “ of the Carthaginians by force of arms. That “ such usurpations were easy to a Prince, who “ had no regard to justice and equity. That the “ Carthaginians however continued silent and “ without acting, having their hands tied, to use “ the expression, by the clauses of the treaty, by “ which they were prohibited to pass their frontiers with an armed force. That they indeed “ might undertake to drive that Numidian Prince “ out of the lands he had seized, without the imputation of having made war out of their own “ territory ; but that they were restrained by another clause not equivocal, which expressly prohibited them from making war upon the allies of the Roman People. That accordingly “ they would have still been patient, if that had “ been possible. But that not being able any “ longer to bear the pride, avidity and cruelty of “ Masinissa, they were come to implore the Romans to grant them one of these three things : “ either to vouchsafe to hear both parties equitably, to which they were equally allied ; or “ to suffer the Carthaginians to oppose just and “ legal arms to the violence employed to crush “ them ; or lastly, if favour had more influence “ with

“ with them than reason and justice, to declare A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.
“ once for all exactly, to what a degree they
“ thought fit to gratify Masinissa with the posses-
“ sions of others. That the Senate should at
“ least be moderate in their liberality, and ad-
“ here to what it ordained : whereas the Numidi-
“ an King observed no other rule in his usurpa-
“ tions than that dictated by his avidity and am-
“ bition. That if they obtained any of these
“ three points, and had, since the peace granted
“ them by Scipio, committed any fault that had
“ drawn upon them the indignation of the Roman
“ People, let themselves decree the punishment
“ they deserved. That they chose rather to be
“ slaves under masters, that would at least afford
“ them security, than to retain a liberty conti-
“ nually subject to the unjust invasions of Masi-
“ nissa. That lastly, it was more for their ad-
“ vantage to perish once for all, than to languish
“ out a miserable life, always exposed to the cru-
“ elties of the most violent of tyrants.” After
having spoken thus, they prostrated themselves
upon the earth with tears in their eyes, and by
their dejection and sorrow excited as much indig-
nation against the King, as compassion for them-
selves.

Gulussa was afterwards asked what he had to *Gulussa*
answer to the objections of the Carthaginians, un- *defends his*
less he chose previously to acquaint the Senate with *father.*
the reasons for his coming to Rome. That young *Ibid. 24.*
Prince replied, “ That it was not easy for him to
“ answer in respect to affairs, concerning which
“ his father had given him neither instructions,
“ nor power ; and that though he should have
“ thought fit to charge him with his orders, it
“ would have been difficult for him to reply, not
“ knowing what brought the Carthaginians to

A. R. 580.
Ann. C. 172. “ Rome, and not being even assured that they
“ intended to come thither. That his father had
“ sent him to request the Senate not to give credit
“ to the accusations of a people, w^ho were his
“ enemies, as well as those of the Romans, and
“ who only hated him for his constant and invio-
“ lable fidelity and attachment to the interests of
“ the Roman People.”

*The Se-
nate's an-
swer.* After the Senators had heard the discourses on
both sides, and deliberated upon the demands of
the Carthaginians, they answered, “ That their
“ intention was, that Gulussa should return im-
“ mediately into Numidia, to tell his father to
“ send Ambassadors directly to Rome, who
“ might answer the complaints made against him
“ to the Senate by those of Carthage. That out
“ of regard to him they should, as they had hi-
“ therto, do every thing that should appear rea-
“ sonable: but that they should grant nothing to
“ favour contrary to justice. That they desired
“ that both sides might keep possession of what
“ appertained to them in the country they dis-
“ puted, and confine themselves within the an-
“ tient limits without forming new ones. That
“ the Roman People, after having overcome the
“ Carthaginians, had not restored them their
“ cities and countries with design to seize un-
“ justly in time of peace, what they had not taken
“ from them, as they might have done by right
“ of war.” These are fine words, but we shall
find them to no effect.

The Senate dismissed the Numidian Prince,
and the Carthaginian Ambassadors with the usual
presents, after having treated them with all the
marks of amity and good-will that friends and
allies could expect.

The

The Cenfor Fulvius Flaccus, who had taken away the tiles from the temple of Juno, died a very miserable death. Of two sons which he had, he received advice that the one was dead, and the other taken ill of a very dangerous disease. He sunk under the grief and terror, which this sad news gave him. His domesticks found him dead in his chamber, where he had strangled himself. It was the common opinion that he had been distracted after his Censorship, and his death was considered as an effect of the wrath of Juno, and a punishment for the sacrilege he had committed for plundering her temple.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.
Miserable death of the Cenfor Fulvius.
Liv. xlii. 38.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Under these Consuls a deputation sent by a people of a new kind came from Spain to Rome. More than four thousand men, who said they were the sons of Roman soldiers and the women of that country, demanded, that some city might be assigned them, where they might settle. The Senate ordered them to go to the Prætor Canuleius, and give in their names, and impowered that magistrate to grant liberty to such of them as he should think fit, and to cause them to go to Carteia upon the coast of the ocean. The inhabitants of that city were permitted to remain in it, upon condition that they would form a colony there in conjunction with these new comers, and divide the lands with them that should be allotted for their subsistence. The privileges of Latium was given this colony, which was called *the colony of the freedmen*

Colony of Carteia in Spain.
Liv. xliii. 3.

Gulussa and the Carthaginian Ambassadors return to Rome.

Almost at the same time arrived from Africa Gulussa son of King Masinissa, and Ambassadors from the Carthaginians. The Numidian Prince having

Liv. ibid.

A. R. 581.
A. C. 171.

having been first introduced to the Senate, mentioned the aids, which his father had supplied for the war of Macedonia, and offered, by his order, again to supply the Roman People, out of gratitude for their favours, with all such as they should require. For the rest, “ he exhorted the
“ Senators not to suffer themselves to be surprized
“ by the artifices of the Carthaginians. That
“ they had resolved to fit out a considerable fleet,
“ under pretence of aiding the Romans with it
“ against the Macedonians. But when they should
“ have once put it into a condition to act, it would
“ be in their power to chuse their enemies and
“ their allies.”

After these preliminaries, he, no doubt, proceeded to the matter in dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. A chasm here in Livy prevents our knowing what passed on both sides, and what was determined by the Senate. It only appears, that this contest continued undecided during many years, till being again set on foot, it terminated in a bloody war, that having began between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, insensibly engaged the Romans in the quarrel, which did not end but with the ruin of Carthage.

To compleat collecting the loose and detached facts of our history, before I enter upon relating the war with Perseus, I am going to enumerate several circumstances, which will shew how much Rome began to degenerate from herself, when riches and the luxury of Greece and Asia were introduced there.

In the former times, the Roman magistrates sent into the provinces had acted with abundance of equity and moderation, and it very seldom happened that they abused their authority. But for some years, things had greatly changed, and complaints

plaints were brought to the Senate from all sides against the cruelty, injustice, and malversations of the magistrates. A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

L. Postumius, who was Consul in the 579th year of Rome, received orders from the Senate to go into Campania, to put a stop to the usurpations of Particulars, who possessing lands bordering upon those of the Commonwealth, aggrandized themselves continually at the expence of the State, and continually extended their bounds. A. R. 579.
Ant. C. 173.
The Consul Postumius is the first who oppresses the allies.
Liv. xlii. 1.

This magistrate was incensed against the people of Præneste, for not having received any honours from the body of the city, or from any particular, when he came there in a private capacity some time before to offer a sacrifice in the temple of Fortune. To revenge this pretended injury, he wrote to their principal magistrate before he set out from Rome, and ordered him to come and meet him, to provide an house for him in the city, where he might lodge during his whole stay there, and to keep horses and other carriage-beasts in readiness for his use at his departure. This was the first Roman magistrate, that put the allies to expence; and to spare them this sort of charge and service, the Commonwealth supplied its Generals with mules, tents, and all the other utensils of which they had occasion in the field. On their marches, they lodged at the houses of private persons, with whom they had entered into the ties of hospitality, and to whom they rendered the same offices in their turn at Rome. If it were necessary to dispatch Deputies, suddenly upon any public affair, the cities on their route were obliged to furnish them with an horse, and this was the only expence the allies were to bear. The resentment of Postumius, which was perhaps just, says Livy, but little becoming a magistrate, with the too modest and timorous silence

A. R. 579.
Ant. C. 173

lence of the Prænestini, was an example; that not being condemned, gave the Generals a kind of right to impose burthens upon the allies which every day became more heavy.

Oppression
of the Spa-
niards by
the Præ-
tors.

Liv. xliii.
2.

Spain felt the evils occasioned by this impunity, but by a different kind of abuse. The deputies of that province laid their complaints before the Senate, and prostrate upon the earth implored it, that having the honour to be the allies of the Roman People, it would not suffer them to be treated with more cruelty than even enemies. Amongst other grievances one related to corn. The States of the provinces were obliged to supply the Magistrates *gratis* with a certain quantity of corn for their own use, and that of their household; and also to furnish a certain quantity as prescribed for the armies of the Roman People, for which they received money. The avarice of the Prætors, in the two impositions of corn, found a double occasion to oppress and plunder the allies, but in a quite different manner. Instead of receiving the corn for their use in kind, they received it in money, setting the value upon it themselves, which they rated very high: this corn was called *frumentum æstimatum*. On the contrary, for the other species of grain, called *frumentum emptum*, they set a very low price on that, and caused the whole quantity to be delivered to the Roman People.

The Senate received the complaints of the Spaniards very favourably, appointed commissioners to enquire into them, and gave the complainants liberty to choose advocates to plead their cause out of the most illustrious of the Roman citizens. The most considerable both for their birth and merit voluntarily took upon them so laudable an office. One of the accused, after a long examination repeated more than once, was acquitted,

two

two others, who were conscious of being too criminal to hope the same fate, condemned themselves to voluntary banishment. A. R. 579.
Ant. C. 173.

Livy tells us, that the Spaniards could have accused others: but their mouths were stopt, because those were powerful citizens; and the past was forgot. The Senate, to prevent the like disorders for the future, decreed, on granting the Spaniards their request, that the magistrates should receive the corn due to them for their domestick use in kind; or if they chose rather to have its value in money, it should be rated according to the current price in the markets; and that in respect to corn bought for the public, it should also be paid for according to the current value.

The Senate received complaints from all sides against the Generals and Magistrates sent into the provinces. Cassius and Licinius had been Consuls in the 581st year of Rome.

Cincibilus, King of a Gaulish nation beyond the Alps, which is no otherwise distinguished by Livy, sent his brother to Rome at the head of an embassy, to accuse Cassius of having plundered some people of the Alps, the allies of that Prince, of having carried away a great number of them, and of having reduced them into slavery. On another side, the Istrians and other neighbouring nations represented, that the same Consul Cassius had put their whole country to fire and sword, and plundered every thing in his way, without their being able to guess his reason for treating them as enemies. The Senate replied to both, that they had not foreseen these hostilities, and that if they had been committed, they disapproved them. That it was not just to condemn a person of Consular dignity without hearing him: but that if at his return from Macedonia, where he then served

as

A. R. 581. as legionary Tribune, they could convict him
 Ant. C. 171. personally of the unjust actions laid to his charge,
 the Senate would not fail to give them satisfaction.
 They even sent Ambassadors to the Gaulish King
 and the other States, to let them know their dis-
 position to do them justice.

Against Licinius, Cassius's colleague, as if he had been
his colleague sent, not to make war upon Perseus, but the
Licinius. Greeks in alliance with the Roman People, distres-
 Epit. l. 43. sed the inhabitants of Bœotia, where he winter-
 ed, and in particular those of Coronea in every
 manner. The latter complained of this to the
 Senate, who decreed that all who had been sold
 for slaves should be set at liberty.

Against It is easy to conceive, that the Prætors were
the Præ- not more regular in their conduct than their Con-
tors Lucre- suls, whose examples authorized them, and seem-
tius and ed to secure them impunity. The Prætor Lucre-
Herennius. tius, who commanded the fleet during the Consul-
 Liv. xliii. ship of Licinius, had made the allies feel the sad
 4. effects of his cruelty and avarice. The Tribunes
 of the People incessantly declaimed against him
 with abundance of vehemence in all the assemblies.
 His friends demanded a delay, alledging that he
 was absent for the service of the Commonwealth.
 But at that time people were so very ignorant of
 what passed even in the neighbourhood of Rome,
 that the very man, whom his defenders said to be
 in Greece, was actually at an estate he had near
 Antium, and employing part of the money he had
 brought from Greece, in bringing the water of
 Loracina to that city: a work which cost an hun-
 dred and thirty thousand *asses*, (about two or
 three hundred pounds.) He also adorned the
 temple of Æsculapius with the paintings that were
 a part of his spoils.

The city of Chalcis sent deputies against him to Rome. Their first hearing shewed the excessive injuries that city had suffered. Mistio, the principal deputy, (who was an antient and faithful ally of the Romans) and had the gout so as not to be able to walk, caused himself to be carried to the Senate in a chair: a strong proof of an indispensable necessity, as notwithstanding his condition he could not prevail to be dispensed with from this voyage whither he did not suppose his presence absolutely requisite. He began by saying, that of all the parts of his body his disease left him only his tongue at liberty to deplore the calamities of his country. “ He then repeated
“ the services both antient and recent his State
“ had done the Generals and armies of the Ro-
“ mans, and in the war which was actually car-
“ rying on against Perseus. He afterwards pro-
“ ceeded to the excesses of avarice and cruelty ex-
“ ercised by the Prætor Lucretius against the in-
“ habitants of Chalcis; and lastly to those they
“ then suffered from L. Hortensius, who had suc-
“ ceeded him: adding, that after all, were they
“ to be treated with greater inhumanity, they
“ were determined to suffer every thing, rather than
“ join the King of Macedonia. That as to Lu-
“ cretius and Hortensius, it would have been
“ much more for the advantage of the people of
“ Chalcis to have shut their gates against them,
“ than to have received them into their city.
“ That the inhabitants of the cities who had done
“ so, had preserved their liberties and estates:
“ whereas Lucretius, with horrid sacrilege, had
“ plundered their temples, and had caused all
“ the ornaments of them to be carried to An-
“ tium. That after having deprived the al-
“ lies of the Roman People of their property,
“ he had made slaves of their persons; and that
“ if

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

A. R. 581. " if any thing had escaped his avarice, Horten-
 Ann. C. 171. " sius, by treading in his steps, had entirely
 " taken it from them. That in the winter as well
 " as summer, he filled their houses with soldiers
 " and seamen; so that those unhappy citizens had
 " the grief to see continually in the midst of them-
 " selves, their wives and children, people void of
 " shame, humanity and faith."

The Senate thought it incumbent on them to send for Lucretius, in order that he might hear all that was advanced against him, and object to it if he could. The reproaches made to his face, were still more strong than all that had been said in his absence, and he had two accusers much more powerful and formidable to oppose in the persons of two Tribunes of the People, who not contented with inveighing against him in the full Senate, exclaimed against him before the People, and after having loaded him with reproaches, summoned him in form to appear at the sovereign tribunal of the People, to answer their accusations. As to the deputies of Chalcis, the Prætor Mænius was ordered to tell them, " That the Senate knew
 " they had advanced nothing but the truth, in
 " speaking of the services they had done the Ro-
 " man People in the present and former wars,
 " and that they retained all the gratitude they
 " ought for them. As to the injuries they had
 " received from C. Lucretius, and at present
 " from L. Hortensius, they could not suppose that
 " the Senate approved them, if they reflected in
 " the least that the Roman People had declared
 " war against Perseus, and before against Philip
 " his father, to deliver the Greeks from the ty-
 " ranny of those Princes, and undoubtedly not
 " with design to draw upon them those oppres-
 " sions from the Romans themselves. That the
 " Senate

“ Senate would write to L. Hortensius, to signify
 “ that they disapproved his conduct, he was ac-
 “ cused of in respect to the people of Chalcis;
 “ to order him to find out the free persons, who
 “ had been made slaves, and to restore their li-
 “ berty as soon as possible; and to prohibit him
 “ from quartering any soldier or officer of the
 “ fleet upon them, except Captains of vessels.”

A. R. 81.
 Ant. C. 171.

Such was the substance of the letters wrote by the Senate to Hortensius. The usual presents were made to the deputies and carriages and other conveniencies were supplied Mictio, in order to accommodate him to Brindisi.

When the day for the appearance of C. Lucretius arrived, the Tribunes accused him before the People, and condemned him in a fine of a million of *asses*, (about two thousand five hundred pounds.) All the Tribes unanimously sentenced him to pay that sum.

What a difference is there between the ma-
 gistrates, whose injustice, rapine and oppressions
 we have just related, and the great men, whose
 wisdom, equity and disinterestedness did so much
 honour to the Roman People, and contributed
 more to their conquests than the force of their
 arms, and the valour of their troops! We have
 seen the two Scipios, who perished in Spain, as
 much and more lamented by the natives than by
 the Romans themselves. Their successor, who
 was the son of the one, and the nephew of the
 other, was considered by the same people, as a
 man come from heaven to constitute the happiness
 of mankind. The incampments of armies, win-
 ter-quarters, and the residence of Generals in the
 cities, seemed so far from being a burthen to the al-
 lies, that the longer they stayed with them, the
 happier they thought themselves: with so much

*Reflexion
 upon the
 change
 which
 happened
 in the
 manners,
 and go-
 vernment
 of Rome.*

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

moderation, benevolence, (*a*) and humanity did the Romans then behave! To several Generals, and especially the great Scipio, might be applied what Cicero says of Pompey; that (*b*) under him the allies were not only exempted from any expence on the account of the soldiers, but that it was not allowed even when they desired it. For adds the same orator, our ancestors were of opinion, that the winter-quarters passed under the roofs of the allies, should be a retreat against the inclemencies of the season, and not an occasion of avarice.

Such were the maxims in the happy times of the Commonwealth: but they have begun to lose ground very much during some years; and in the sequel we shall see them entirely disappear. And indeed (*c*) the different examples of malversation which we have enumerated, shew, that commanders were sent with authority into the provinces, whose entrance into the countries and cities of the allies, scarce differed from an irruption of enemies, and was attended with no less depredations.

It is remarkable, that this change of manners and government, these oppressions of States scarce heard of hitherto, and which begin for some time to become very common, this unlimited licence of enriching themselves by the spoils of the gods and men; are all, as we have already observed, of the same date with the introduction of

(*a*) Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præientem vident, tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur. *Cic. de L. g. Man. n. 13.*

(*b*) Non modò, ut sumptum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur: sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur.

Hiemis enim, non avaritiæ, peragium majoris nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tecis esse voluerunt. *Ibid. 39.*

(*c*) Ejusmodi in provinciam homines cum imperio mittimus, ut——ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili impugnatione differant. *Ibid. 13.*

luxury,

luxury, and are undoubtedly the effects of it. A. R. 581.
Ant.C. 171. These (a) disorders increase gradually, and at first insensibly. Regulations were opposed to them; and some examples, though faintly, made from time to time. The evil however gains ground, and infects the whole People. The face of the State then changes, and the government, from just and wise as it was, becomes tyrannical and insupportable. This is what the sequel of our history will evince.

(a) Hæc primò paulatim mutata, imperium, ex justissimo atque optimo, crudele intolerandumque factum. *Salust. Bell. Catil.*
creicere, interdum vindicari.
Post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit, civitas im-

End of VOL. VII.

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